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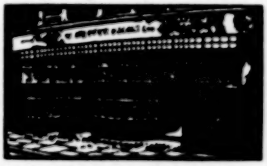

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LONGMANS

THE IMAGINATIVE UNITY OF *PIERS PLOWMAN*

By JOHN LAWLOR

I

IT is to be hoped that the considerations advanced by Fr. T. P. Dunning in a recent article will win general assent.[1] Fr. Dunning has given in brief space an account of the unity of theme in *Piers Plowman* which should safeguard us from exploring false paths and repeating old errors. In particular, his identification of 'active life' with 'the spiritual life' will prevent that confusion of 'active life' with mere activity, action as opposed to contemplation, in which a good deal of comment upon *Piers Plowman* has been entangled. Much of the difficulty over the 'definitions' of the three lives might have been spared if those who followed Wells's decisive lead had observed, as he did, that, in Fr. Dunning's words, 'the good works of the Active Life are works of religion and devotion'.[2] There is thus room for the blending of two traditional triads—active, contemplative, and 'mixed' lives, and purgative, illuminative, and unitive ways. Indeed, so far from rejecting the one to provide for the other,[3] we must see their very interdependence if we are to advance at all with the Dreamer. But confusion came from another source, Walter Hilton's special conception of 'mixed life': and here, too, Fr. Dunning does a notable service by showing that 'in regard to the meaning of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest [Hilton] will bring only confusion'.[4] The recent contribution of Mr. S. S. Hussey, in which Hilton's views are taken as authoritative, illustrates the difficulties which beset *Piers Plowman* criticism.[5] Mr. Hussey perceives well enough that 'active life' must include 'much of what Langland's critics usually assign to Dobet'. But for him this serves only to throw doubt on any claim for the three lives as truly satisfactory equivalents of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest, a doubt which is reinforced when 'the idea of mixed life' (that is, Hilton's idea of it) is correctly seen to be 'too limited' to apply to Dobest.[6] The root cause is plain: it is the definitions of the active, contemplative, and mixed lives so far put forward by Langland's critics that are at fault.[7]

[1] 'The Structure of the B-Text of *Piers Plowman*', *R.E.S.*, N.S. vii (1956), 225–37.

[2] Ibid., p. 230.

[3] Professor Howard Meroney, insisting upon the spiritual life as the poet's dominant concern, finds it necessary to reject the triad of 'lives' as 'a false and mischievous analogy which has stultified *Piers Plowman* criticism for twenty years'. ('The Life and Death of Longe Wille', *ELH*, xvii (1950) 1–35.)

[4] Loc. cit., p. 235.

[5] 'Langland, Hilton, and the Three Lives', *R.E.S.*, N.S. vii (1956), 132–50.

[6] Ibid., pp. 139–40.

[7] Cf. Dunning, loc. cit., p. 225, n. 1.

Mr. Hussey's contribution is more valuable for his criticism of those definitions than for any firm conclusions he himself can offer: for, correctly understanding the nature of 'active life', he cannot see its applicability to Langland's Dowel, a term which, he holds, 'must refer to the majority of Christians who have no special religious calling'.[1] We are back, though by a less familiar route than usual, at that central stumbling-block of *Piers Plowman* interpretation, the connexion between the *Visio* and the *Vita*. There is no possibility of advance until we see that the 'doing well' which refers to *all* Christians consists in that conformity to the rule of 'ri3tful reson' which the Plowman of the *Visio* at once exemplifies and helps to bring about. This is the necessary condition of and the preparation for that further 'doing well' which, while it is open to all Christians, is essentially the progress of the individual soul in the spiritual life (and thus admits of degrees of 'perfection'). Mr. Hussey is, I am sure, wholly right to stress the penetrating simplicity which invests Langland's term Dowel (and hence the progression, Dobet, Dobest). It is evident, above all, in that concern for the *practice* of the Christian life which I comment on below. But we shall be making an impossible demand if we insist that the Christian life, as the Dreamer begins to inquire into it in the *Vita*, must involve no complexities. The truth is that Langland's Dowel is no invariable term. His concern is with right conduct, a 'doing well' which, first apprehended as the obedience to God's law required of all men, is deepened into awareness of the spiritual life—that life which may be expressed as obedience to the Counsels rather than the Commandments, conformity to God's will in the spirit of a son rather than a servant. As such, Langland's 'doing well' joins with and becomes indistinguishable from the 'doing well' of the spiritual life; and the progression to a 'better' in this sphere is easily and naturally achieved. But it is the lasting appeal of Langland's work that in the conclusion he turns aside from the ideal, the 'best' of the spiritual life, to the real, the leadership which is required by the suffering and sinful humanity we first encountered in the Prologue. Langland's poem has thus a design all its own: and we rightly reject those 'definitions' that would 'provide a ready-made guide' to his thought.[2] But we shall make no headway with Langland's thought until we grasp the connexion between the 'doing well' that is enjoined upon the folk of the *Visio* and the prospect of 'doing well' that is revealed to their leader, the Plowman. Fr. Dunning has, I believe, given us the firmest ground we have yet been offered for resolving the purely 'doctrinal' questions, What is the 'theme' or 'content' of the *Liber de Petro Plowman*?, and, What is the relationship in those terms between the *Visio de Petro Plowman* and the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest*? Langland's theme is 'doing well', an

[1] Loc. cit., p. 139.

[2] Hussey, loc. cit., p. 147.

insistent probing of man's capacity for the good life; and this is prepared for by presenting in the *Visio* the *animalis homo* and 'the first stage in his regeneration'.[1]

If this is the relation between *Visio* and *Vita* in terms of Langland's thought we may be better enabled to ask, How is this relation effected in the poem?—and thus, of *Piers Plowman* as a whole, By what distinctive appeal to imagination does the poet initiate and conduct the 'argument' of his poem? Fr. Dunning has very well demonstrated how Langland, employing 'as the framework of his poem' 'the traditional teaching on the spiritual life of the Christian', modifies it to his purpose, 'his artistic preoccupation with (*a*) Christian society, and (*b*) the society of his own time and its peculiar problems'.[2] What that 'artistic preoccupation' may be it is no part of Fr. Dunning's immediate purpose to inquire. But it should be a question worth raising; for *Piers Plowman* is not a treatise, remarkable only for clothing deep truth and penetrating observation in memorable verse. To be sure, some who have perceived poetry in *Piers Plowman* have yet withheld the designation 'poem'. Professor C. S. Lewis has praised Langland for 'sublimity', and for a 'largeness' of vision which pertains to 'the "intellectual imagination" '. But Langland, he concludes, 'is confused and monotonous, and hardly makes his poetry into a poem'.[3] Similarly, Professor G. Kane speaks of a 'paradox of total greatness and local failures'.[4] A unity of theme, or 'doctrine', and hence a mutual relationship of the major parts of the work, will not, assuredly, of themselves serve to counter these objections. We must try to clarify the imaginative appeal of Langland's work—to find, if we can, the focus of imaginative attention, the vantage-point from which we, with the writer, look out upon his world.

It should be the more useful to make this inquiry in as far as the poem, if there is one, may need to be rescued from overmuch elucidation. A work as long as *Piers Plowman* (in its B and C texts) and as comprehensive in its main issues may well reward approaches from widely differing standpoints. But critical evaluation is likely to fare ill in this pressure of interests.[5] There is a further consideration. Readers—not always untutored—who have been conscious of the explorations as well as the affirmations that the work contains have thought of *Piers Plowman* as a

[1] Dunning, loc. cit., p. 232.
[2] Ibid., p. 226.
[3] *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 160–1.
[4] *Middle English Literature* (London, 1951), p. 185.
[5] As Professor Kane observes, 'To consider *Piers Plowman* as a poem is not only the safest but also the most fruitful means of studying it, and should precede the detailed consideration of its single features and qualities'. It may, however, be felt that Professor Kane's attempt 'to isolate the main features' of the poet's 'personality' is itself allowed, unhappily, to precede consideration of the poem (op. cit., pp. 185, 192).

kind of spiritual autobiography, in which the author hammers out his best understanding of what often appears to puzzle and even, sometimes, to elude him. Against these, there have not been lacking interpreters who, rightly insisting upon a body of traditional teaching informing Langland's thought, seem at times to come very close to suggesting that Langland is a writer of clear purpose, involving his readers in perplexities that were for him only apparent, in order to win their better understanding. It is, unless I am greatly mistaken, to the second group that Fr. Dunning belongs, in his maintaining that Langland 'largely takes for granted the traditional teaching on the spiritual life of the Christian'.[1] The question here is not one of degree (the mere extent, covered by Fr. Dunning's 'largely', to which Langland might be thought *not* to 'take for granted' traditional teaching) but rather of kind, the kind of activity we are to envisage in the writer. It would require a considerable hardihood on our part to discredit Langland when he tells us of his setbacks and vexations, the problems he cannot solve, as well as the truths he can confidently affirm. Yet it is true that his 'teaching' at all points appears conformable to what had long been maintained and was more generally accessible in his own day than has always been realized.[2] The question is, finally considered, insoluble: but in its present terms it is certainly ill put. The mere dichotomy, 'Poem or Autobiography?' will never take us very far; but with some kinds of poem we can hardly apply it all. If, then, we can see what imaginative unity *Piers Plowman* may have, we must go on to determine the kind of poem we have been dealing with.

II

It will be best to begin with the *Vita de Dowel*: not only because it is, by common consent, one of the most difficult parts of the whole work, but because in it we are given some account of the Dreamer himself, pondering the significance of what has been seen in the *Visio*, and in that pondering some of the problems which the Dreamer presents as vexing him are well to the fore. What deserves our notice at once is the series of rebuffs the Dreamer receives from the authoritative persons he interrogates after his first colloquy, that with the Friars. From the Friars he has received practical counsel in the parable of the man in the storm-tossed boat—counsel which is designed to turn the inquirer away from the

[1] Loc. cit., p. 226.

[2] Fr. Dunning (p. 225) draws attention to W. A. Pantin's account of manuals of instruction for parish priests and vernacular religious and moral treatises (*The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 189–243). Mr. Pantin's general observation (p. 189) is especially worth pondering: 'It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the educated layman in late medieval ecclesiastical history.' For a treatment of the 'intellectual history' thus involved, see G. de Lagarde, *La Naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1934–).

high theoretical question, How shall a man avoid sin? to the humbler recognition of common experience implied in the distinction between sins of frailty and deliberate sins. The Dreamer is not content, and seeks to know more: but we should note, in view of the scoldings he is to receive, that all he seeks to know is where he can find Dowel, so that, as he humbly says, he may learn of these high matters by direct observation: 'if I may lyue and loke. I shal go lerne bettere.' It is a sentiment which is repeated after Thought's 'explanation':

> I coueite to lerne
> How Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest. don amonges the peple.
> (viii. 108–9)[1]

Wit's account of the matter is no more helpful to this Dreamer who seeks examples from practice. In the wooden allegory of Sir Dowel inhabiting the Castle of Kind, we may detect a similarity to the Plowman's allegory of the Ten Commandments, delivered to the Pilgrims of the *Visio*. In either case, the predicament of the listener is the same. Like the Pilgrims, the Dreamer seeks a living embodiment of the good, not mere discourse, however apt. It is therefore a striking irony that Dame Study, waiting with unconcealed impatience for the end of Wit's discourse, should soundly berate the Dreamer as a seeker after mere knowledge. But the irony is deepened when we perceive that the Dreamer is eventually drawn into debate, so that Study's warning against high speculation, unfairly levelled at the Dreamer on first encounter, is later amply justified. Her very words, 'Non plus sapere quam oportet' (x. 116), are repeated at the end of the *Vita de Dowel* by Anima, rebuking a Dreamer who has sought to know all (xv. 63–67). Similarly, Ymagynatyf is able to point, unopposed, the moral of the Dreamer's experience:

> for thine entermetyng. here artow forsake,
> *Philosophus esses, si tacuisses.* (xi. 406)

We see very readily that, in his being drawn into debate, the Dreamer has fulfilled Clergye's prediction:

> The were lef to lerne. but loth for to stodie.
> Thou woldest konne that I can. and carpen hit after,
> Presumptuowsly, parauenture. a-pose so manye,
> That hit myȝthe turne me to tene. and Theologie bothe.
> (A xii. 6–8)

As Miss Maguire has remarked, in an article which firmly grasps the tension between the speculative and the practical in the *Vita de Dowel*, the Dreamer we meet at the beginning of Passus XIII 'still seems to hold to

[1] Except as otherwise indicated, all references are to the B text.

his faith in the possibility of an intellectual resolution of his problems'. So, as she observes, the turning-point must come with the entry of a moral virtue, Patience, upon the scene of the Banquet.[1] But we should not fail to notice that experience itself has already given the Dreamer a foretaste of patience. At his meeting with Ymagynatyf he could ruefully contribute his own finding concerning Dowel: 'To se moche and suffre more. certes', quod I, 'is Dowel!' (xi. 402). If we look back, we see that the Dreamer is one who has been drawn aside from his original purpose, from the question Where is Dowel? to discourse upon What is Dowel? But the situation in which he was placed, *vis-à-vis* Wit, Study, &c., is not simple; rather, it is one of cross-purpose. Just as his interlocutors mistrusted him, a seeker, as it appeared, after mere knowledge, so the Dreamer mistrusted them, the learned and authoritative. Christ was a carpenter's son; what, then, is the place of learning in the good life? In this, of course, Langland is echoing controversies of his own day,[2] but it is his achievement to communicate the universal sense of unchangeable cross-purpose between authority and the ardent inquirer. So we follow a Dreamer who, meeting no direct answer to the over-simple question he proposes, finds himself involved in debate, to reach that point of ultimate weariness, foretold by Study, where all exercise of reason threatens to appear as profitless subtilizing:

> The more I muse there-inne. the mistier it semeth
> And the depper I deuyne. the derker me it thinketh;
> It is no science for sothe. forto sotyle inne. (x. 181–3)

He must learn to be constant to his own initial purpose, the search for a truth revealed in practice: but it is no easy matter. It is his final lesson, at the hands of Anima, that the search for knowledge may be not merely immoderate but even positively harmful: for

> the more that a man. of good mater hereth
> *But he do ther-after. It doth hym double scathe.* (xv. 57–58)

In all this the Dreamer has been less fortunate than the repentant sinners of the *Visio*. They found a guide, in the Plowman who is 'of flessh oure brother'. The Dreamer's questioning will avail him little until, all subtilizing exhausted, he is brought to contemplate Incarnate Deity, the Saviour who

> wole Iuste in Piers armes,
> In his helme and in his haberioun. *humana natura.* (xviii. 22–23)

It is the last irony that those he had interrogated at the very outset of his

[1] 'The Significance of Haukyn, *Activa Vita*, in *Piers Ploweman*', *R.E.S.*, xxv (1949), 99–100.

[2] See Pantin, op. cit., pp. 123–35.

journey had given a sufficient answer to his desire to find examples from practice:

> 'I have no kynde knowyng', quod I. 'to conceyue alle ȝowre wordes,
> Ac if I may lyue and loke. I shall go lerne bettere'.
> 'I bikenne the Cryst', quod he. 'that on the crosse deyde'. (viii. 57–59)

The imaginative appeal of the *Vita* in its whole extent resides not in any answer to the Dreamer's inquirings, though there is, as we have seen, a decisive turn in the *Vita de Dowel* when the shift is made from speculative to practical considerations. The truly imaginative appeal is in the very failure of inquiry so long as the initiative is with the Dreamer. It is he, who at the outset insisted on the practice of the good life, who is in the end brought to understand what his earlier interlocutors had doggedly maintained as the ground of their reserve towards him—that practice is all. Then, and only then, is he ready to apprehend as vision what eluded him as discourse. And this, in its turn, will mean that his search, so far from ending, must have a new beginning.

III

If this is the imaginative appeal, what is its focus? What particular aspect of human nature serves as an entry upon and sustains the *Vita*? To answer that question, we may with advantage turn back to the beginning of Langland's work as a whole, not only to see afresh the relation of *Visio* and *Vita*, but to place the rebukes of the *Vita de Dowel* in their full setting. In the Prologue, the Dreamer has acutely observed a world whose law is self-interest: now, in the first Passus of the *Visio*, Holy Church is to 'explain'. In doing so she will encounter questions from the Dreamer which are inappropriate to his understanding; for the Dreamer desires all-embracing answers, but his gaze is directed outwards, while the real situation requiring redress is within the heart of man. The colloquy deserves to be taken in some detail, for it contains indications which are central to our inquiry.

Holy Church, as yet unknown to the Dreamer, begins with the simple and sufficient statement that to do right is to live according to Truth's teaching, and this is at once given its particular application to the world the Dreamer has seen—men are to observe 'mesure' in the use of creature comforts. The Dreamer at once asks a large question—and this is to be characteristic of him: To whom does the wealth of the world belong? The answer is, as was Holy Church's first statement, that the individual is to look to himself: he is to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. As she concludes her 'explanation' of the 'field', the Dreamer asks her who she is: and the reply he receives carries its own mild reproof:

> 'Holicherche I am', quod she. 'thow ouȝtest me to knowe,
> I vnderfonge the firste. and the feyth tauȝte'. (i. 75–76)

The Dreamer at once cries to be taught how to save his soul. Holy Church's answer is in keeping with baptismal simplicity. Those who do good and purpose no evil to their fellow men shall have their reward. What she adds is very important for the implications that are later to come to the Dreamer of the *Vita de Dowel*; the truth she has uttered is common knowledge to all men, Christian and Pagan alike: 'cristene and vncristne. clameth it vchone' (i. 93). We should not miss the gentle rebuke that this implies. But it is not dwelt upon: Holy Church continues by emphasizing the obedience to Truth which all men must give, and concludes that those whose actions show their true faith will go to heaven, where Truth is enthroned. Nothing simpler or more directly connected with the practice of the individual soul could be conceived. But the Dreamer responds with another of his large questions, How does Truth come to man?, and disclaims any natural knowledge upon the point: he does not know 'By what craft in my corps. it comseth and where' (i. 137).[1] Now Holy Church is less gentle: how stupid, she declares, to say he does not know something revealed by common experience! This is the first scolding the Dreamer receives, and the first of many that are to come in the *Vita de Dowel*. An apparently radical question has been asked: and the answer is, in effect, 'look in your heart'. Something known to all men has been overlooked by this searcher after knowledge:

> 'It is a kynde knowyng', quod he. 'that kenneth in thine herte
> For to louye thi lorde. leuer than thi-selue;
> No dedly synne to do. dey thou3 thow sholdest.'

The Dreamer's question is foolishness indeed. But he is not left without one concession to his desire for knowledge. Holy Church concludes,

> 'This I trowe be treuthe. who can teche the better,
> Loke thow suffre hym to sey. and sithen lere it after.
> For thus witnesseth his worde. worche thow there-after.' (i. 140–5)

The lesson should be clear to the reader, if it is long in coming to the Dreamer. There is something 'better' than this 'treuthe'—not better than truth, absolutely considered, but better than the truth that is all that can be revealed to the Dreamer in his present condition. And in the moment that Holy Church withholds the 'better' she gives her reasons for doing so: it is a teaching which must be carefully attended to, and it must be *practised*. At the outset of the work, the Dreamer is established for the purposes of the poem in one line by both the neat glance at his impetuosity —'suffer hym to sey'—and the sterner counsel to pass from theoretical inquiry to earnest application. We are prepared for the last lesson the

[1] The C text has the sadder recognition, 'By what wey hit wexith. and wheder out of my menyng.'

Dreamer of the *Vita de Dowel* is to grasp. In him the desire to intervene, to search out the imagined heart of the problem, consistently overbears the simple and prior necessity of an individual attempt to practise the life about which he would know all. Again, the vexation of Holy Church with this inquirer who overlooks the knowledge written ineffaceably in his own heart may remind us of the 'pure tene' of the Plowman when realization[1] breaks upon him. The focus of imaginative attention in *Piers Plowman* is upon our habitual incapacity to grasp that what we know as doctrine bears directly upon us, and hence our search for a truth which shall be comprehensive while in fact, and all unwittingly, we would exclude ourselves from the reckoning.

What I have called the 'focus' of imaginative attention is therefore perfectly adapted to the doctrines the poet communicates. As Fr. Dunning observes, a 'principal feature' of beginning 'the spiritual life proper' 'according to all the spiritual writers, is coming to know oneself'. Some men, at the outset, will 'approve the good as set before them without understanding it'; and progress is made when a man begins 'to understand the import of some of the truths in which he believes'. When the transition is made from the *animale* to the *spirituale*, man moves forward, 'by the progressive understanding of himself and of those things which in the teaching of the faith have been laid before him'.[2]

We begin to see that Langland's work offers a remarkable combination. His theme is of the greatest solemnity: man is a creature destined for regeneration. Hence we have the distinctive appeal to imagination—vision must show forth what remains hidden to discursive thinking. But it is Langland's genius to initiate and conduct his poetic argument by showing us man as determinedly ratiocinative, seeking the causes of all things, and overlooking what lies nearest home. The kind of poem we are dealing with is thus not easily determined. If we approach it by asking what is the poet's dominant faculty, we must answer, in however unfashionable terms, the satiric intelligence.

IV

The satire abounding in the *Visio* is not always squarely faced by critics elaborating a claim for the unity of *Piers Plowman*. True, there is general recognition that the perception of widespread wickedness prompts, by a natural reaction, the question 'How may I save my soul?' But the connexion between *Visio* and *Vita* may be thought to go deeper. Certainly, if we are to claim for *Piers Plowman* an imaginative unity, we must ask

[1] I keep this term 'realization' throughout in order to stress the imaginative appeal the poet achieves. In terms strictly applicable to the spiritual life, the word 'conversion' may be used, always provided that it is not misunderstood as a 'turning from' unbelief to the Christian faith.

[2] Dunning, loc. cit., pp. 226, 231, 232.

again how the work of the satirist is related to the thinker's task of construction. Some critics may feel that the satire of the *Visio* is an involuntary concession to the age in which Langland wrote: and it is noticeable that as scholarship has attended closely to *Piers Plowman* it has become increasingly absorbed in the matter of the *Vita* in its three great divisions. We are so much concerned with the issues Langland unfolds that we may be in danger of neglecting the simplicity with which he begins. Professor Lewis states clearly what is implied by others when he invites us to consider Langland in these terms:

> He is writing a moral poem, such as Gower's *Miroir de l'homme* or Gower's Prologue to the *Confessio Amantis*, and throwing in, as any other medieval poet might have done, a good deal of satire on various 'estates'.[1]

This is a striking reaction from those earliest critics who, dwelling with satisfaction on the poet's more obvious satirical targets, hailed him as a great reformer and thus, in Fuller's phrase, 'by *Prolepsis* a Protestant'. But each side misses the mark: for Langland's satire is more radical than Professor Lewis allows, and covers a wider range than Fuller perceived. What is central to Langland's whole design is the observed discrepancy between what we believe and what in fact we are. His poem has its focus in this aspect of the human condition. He therefore proceeds at the outset of the poem by way of external observation—the misdeeds of others—until he has amply shown the necessity of repentance. At this stage, he advances a step farther in the whole inquiry, by bringing forward the one good man the world of his poem can produce in its deepest need—only to humble him. In the realization that comes upon Piers we may see that we have not reached a final limit when goodness is found—for the goodness is now seen to be relative: the only absolute is Perfection. The Plowman who began by instructing others in the way of law (the stiff, signpost-like allegory of the Commandments in Passus v) has perceived that the law condemns unless it is perfectly fulfilled. He therefore turns—or rather, he is turned—away from Justice to the Divine Mercy: and his 'confession of evil works' is, in St. Augustine's phrase, 'the beginning of good works'. For Piers there has opened a road to the Promised Land which leads beyond Sinai.

The satire of the *Visio* is emphatically not 'thrown in'. Langland, indeed, begins well within the customary usages of satire. But his genius is to carry the argument beyond those limits. If all men profess the truth and few appear to practise it, we must pass from censure to inquiry: for this universal condition must make us ask, What is man's capacity for the good life? It is in that light that we see the shortcomings of the best man the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

world of the *Visio* could produce, the Plowman whose Pardon brings an equal and undeviating assurance of reward and punishment. And it is thus that we are prepared for the next appearance of 'Piers Plowman'; for it is the Redemption, perfectly fulfilling inexorable law, which allows the Plowman to seek a Mercy which is also Justice. But the satiric intelligence has not done: what we have seen in the *Visio* is slow to declare itself to the Dreamer of the *Vita de Dowel*. In Langland imagination and logic are uniquely joined: his characteristic capacity is to imagine absolutely. The Pardon that is a 'pardon' only on condition that law can exact no punishment reveals the external world for what it is in the moment that we pass beyond it. There remains the Dreamer, hitherto the observer, on whom realization is yet to fall: and throughout the *Vita de Dowel* there is the continual play of a satiric intelligence, that comes upon us at many turns and with a varying range of effect—from tonic scorn and impassioned rebuke to the practised facility of the dialectician, in whose mind there is always ready to start up the *contra!* of swift objection. Langland appears to have solved a capital problem, to communicate in imaginative and poetic terms the central riddle of our experience. It is not only that we everywhere approve and seldom practise the good: much more, it is that the realization of our own predicament is the last discovery we make. The Dreamer searches long and confusedly for what the Plowman saw in a moment: but the Plowman was ready for this knowledge, by reason of his long perseverance in simple well-doing. The strength of the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest* is that the Dreamer in his turn is *brought* to know the truth when all his efforts have been apparently fruitless. He must contemplate Incarnate Deity before his ultimate questioning is at rest. But he is then freed to continue his own pilgrimage, long postponed, to find the human creature who comes closest to the ideal. Langland's poem propounds an answer not to the simple, though profound, question, How do we know ourselves?, but to the question which lies closer to real experience, How shall we be brought to know ourselves?

To put the primary difficulty in Fr. Dunning's words,

> ... how are we to distinguish the good from the bad, how can we judge the movements of the heart, how discern their provenance? A reconnaissance of the terrain where one is to exercise the inner life is indispensable.[1]

Langland's 'answer' is in effect twofold. Firstly, that we 'distinguish the good from the bad' all too easily—where others are concerned. This is his *Visio*, where the reader, with the Dreamer, is the spectator of vice and folly. But when we think we have found a good man, then the standard that is at once in question will surprise us into examining not the vices of

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 226–7.

others, but our own. The reader is involved in this development in a way comparable with that employed in *Gulliver's Travels*. In each instance, the standpoint of the observer is decisively shifted. Dislodged from a comfortable vantage-point, our guide, and thus we, find ourselves involved, no longer able to interpose between ourselves and reality that 'glass wherein beholders do generally discover everybody's face but their own'. But what for Gulliver comes as a progressive understanding in a world of sober discourse comes to the Dreamer all at once as action on the part of the Plowman—an action which continues to perplex the Dreamer until action is perfected in the Crucifixion and made triumphant in the Harrowing of Hell. The logical imagination of Langland can move easily from sardonic observation to exalted wonder. The quality of his poetry is an unswerving fidelity to the facts of particular experience: for its centre is in the hard fact that the human condition is to find self-knowledge the all-but-impossible undertaking. Of this kind of poem we are tempted to say that the poet succeeds by calling Reason to the aid of Imagination.

v

Piers Plowman, then, appears to traverse two major kinds of poetry to which we are accustomed. On the one hand, its greatest things, as Professor Lewis has observed, come from the region of 'the "intellectual imagination" '. So, we may add, does its continuing energy, the play of a logical imagination in a predominantly satiric mode. But this introduces us to the other aspect in which the poem must be viewed. The satire is concerned with the truths we claim to know and yet do not apprehend: so, at the turning-points, vision must play the decisive part. Thus, for some modern readers great Romantic poetry may be the best entry upon the complexity of experience to which *Piers Plowman* is faithful—the penetrating simplicity of 'realization', and its uncovenanted nature, the sharpness of the sense of defeat—which at once redoubles awareness of what we seek while it falsifies all our contriving—and, rarely but centrally, the exaltation of vision. We must not classify Langland's work with the poetry that merely expounds a system of beliefs. It is in its essentials more like that genuinely new 'kind' for which the treatise poem of the eighteenth century prepares a way—a poetry which is concerned not with the exposition of doctrine as a contribution to the reader's knowledge, but with the individual reader's apprehension of truth, his growing into awareness, as the poem proceeds, of a path inescapably opening before him. These different kinds may resemble each other at certain points; and we run the risk of confusing them whenever we paraphrase for discussion their 'content'. It could hardly be otherwise, when the poet himself

cannot adequately safeguard from misinterpretation his theme of 'Imagination',

> Power so called
> Through sad incompetence of human speech.

But there is yet a difference between *The Pleasures of Imagination* and *The Prelude* which is not merely the difference between a greater poet and a less. Fr. Dunning does well to recall us from an unreflecting acceptance of *Piers Plowman* as spiritual autobiography. But we must not be diverted from the real centre of imaginative excitement, the difference between 'knowledge' and 'realization', between the doctrines so long accepted and the significances at last apprehended. We may well, if we choose, identify the poet behind the Dreamer, manœuvring the reader through his guide until vision is inescapable. But we should be very sure that we allow for the activity of the poem itself, bringing to the poet, in the act of telling, new relations and significances. Our criticism will be beside the mark if we do not see that the poem succeeds by communicating the mind, not behind, but *in* the poem—a poem which is always, in a sense, unfinished. As it is a poem piercingly clear in its central issues, so it is multiple in its implications.

It is with those 'implications' that we encounter the charge of passages that are 'confused and monotonous', the 'paradox of total greatness and local failures'; and we shall do well to heed Dr. Tillyard's warning that it is possible to be 'too tolerant of Langland's repetitions and irrelevant moralising'.[1] Not everything in Langland can be defended: indeed, one would wish to hear less in some modern criticism of Langland as a master-craftsman of multiple allegorical meanings, perception of which will somehow enable us to see merit in what might otherwise appear otiose or redundant. But before judgement is given on such particular passages as appear faulty, it would be as well to place them in the setting of Langland's whole endeavour. His undertaking must be not merely to state the apparent perplexities and nearly insoluble difficulties, but to communicate the very sense of weariness and apparent purposelessness that any stage of the journey may afford, if it is looked at neither from the end nor the beginning, but as it was encountered. Perhaps, too, our modern practice of concentrating upon the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest* increases the difficulty of apprehending the whole work serially, experiencing its crises as they occur and not as they may be extracted from their setting for the purposes of cross-reference and detailed comparison. It is the merit of Langland's poem that we share the sense of confusion and apparent repetition of experience: for how otherwise shall we see that man must be

[1] *The English Epic and its Background* (London, 1954), p. 168.

brought to simple practice? But this is not to claim that Langland works of set purpose and in thorough detail, like a modern artist who would communicate the sense of reality as complex and ambiguous by fostering a degree of complexity and ambiguity in the very communication itself. There is no question of that capital verdict of criticism, *pauper videri Cinna vult et est pauper*. Langland is faithful to a central purpose, our blindness to what resists all our inquiry until we are brought to practise it: and for this fidelity we may be thankful. When penetrating clarity and largeness of vision are found side by side with the very taste of purposelessness we may feel that what is monotonous and confused is the necessary, but excessively rare, complement of those heights of 'intellectual imagination' which thereby gain in authenticity and are saved from any suspicion of the merely austere.

In the same way, our understanding of Langland will be sounder if, as we come to judgement, we can concern ourselves less with the doctrines with which the Dreamer wrestles, and more with the nature of his progress towards his goal. The poem deals in mysteries, but the focus of attention is not upon man's ignorance of what is too dark for him; it is upon his insentience of what has been brought into the light of common day. Langland's poem thus succeeds in communicating not a cumulative effect of discursive thinking, but the very pressure of experience itself. However it may have been with Langland himself, his Dreamer is one who is forced, in the words of a later allegorist, 'not to propound, but to live through, a sort of ontological proof'.[1] Langland's hand is there, certainly: but it is his greatest single achievement that at the turning-points we see that the preparation is not the creature's but the Creator's. Until the living example is set before us, all our inquiries serve only to mislead. So the Plowman, and after him the Saviour Himself, are sent to meet our need. It is thus fitting that the Dreamer goes forth at the end to seek a true exemplar. Langland's last and most individual stroke is in deepest conformity with his whole design. By it he draws that design conclusively away from a formal into a truly imaginative unity.

[1] C. S. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress* (London, 1943), p. 10.

SPENSER AND TOURNEUR'S *TRANSFORMED METAMORPHOSIS*

By A. C. HAMILTON

TOURNEUR'S admittedly crabbed and obscure *Transformed Metamorphosis* has never been given its due literary importance. As the initial work of the author of *The Revenger's Tragedy* it has received some critical attention since its discovery in 1872, but only enough to condemn its style or to speculate upon the identity of its hero, Mavortio. The stock response to the poem is expressed by Swinburne: 'an allegorical poem, worthless as art and incomprehensible as allegory'. However, Churton Collins has offered a plausible interpretation of its meaning in English history at the time it appeared in 1600, namely the dread and hatred of the Papal power allied with Spain. Specifically, he suggests that the exploits and death of Mavortio sketch allegorically the Earl of Essex's Irish expedition.[1] Later critics accept this general interpretation, though they differ upon the identity of Mavortio. Allardyce Nicoll argues that Mavortio could not be Essex, and tentatively suggests Marlowe. In place of this suggestion, Dorothy Pym argues that Mavortio may be Spenser. Ignoring her theory, K. N. Cameron concludes that Mavortio is Tourneur's patron, Sir Christopher Heydon; and finally, ignoring his conclusion, J. D. Peter identifies Mavortio as Henry VIII.[2] My purpose in this article is to illuminate Tourneur's poem by relating it to Spenser: first, to show how thoroughly he imitates Spenser's poetry; and secondly, to argue that Spenser's death provides the occasion for the poem and the key to its understanding.

Tourneur is a closely imitative poet, and various critics have noted in his two plays the striking verbal reminiscences of Shakespeare. His *Transformed Metamorphosis* has been seen as modelled upon the satires of Middleton and Marston. Churton Collins claims that the Prologue resembles very closely Middleton's *Micro-cynicon*, from which he quotes in part these lines:

> But now, environ'd with a brazen tower,
> I little dread their stormy-raging power;

[1] *The Plays and Poems of Cyril Tourneur*, ed. J. Churton Collins (London, 1878), ii. 178–86.

[2] *The Works of Cyril Tourneur*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (London, 1929). (I cite from this edition throughout.) Dorothy Pym, 'A Theory on the Identification of Cyril Tourneur's "Mavortio"', *N. & Q.*, clxxiv (1938), 201–4. K. N. Cameron, 'Cyril Tourneur and "The Transformed Metamorphosis"', *R.E.S.*, xvi (1940), 18–24. J. D. Peter, 'The Identity of Mavortio in Tourneur's "Transformed Metamorphosis"', *N. & Q.*, cxciii (1948), 408–12.

Witness this black defying embassy,
That wanders them beforne in majesty,
Undaunted of their bugbear threatening words,
Whose proud-aspiring vaunts time past records.

Tourneur begins:

O who perswades my willing errorie,
Into this blacke Cymerianized night?
Who leades me into this concauitie,
This huge concauitie, defect of light,
To feele the smart of *Phlegetonike* sight?
O who, I say, perswades mine infant eie,
To gaze vpon my youths obscuritie? (1–7)

But there is little correspondence here of style, movement, or imagery, and Middleton's matter-of-factness, indicated by his use of the couplet, is opposed to the rhetorical elaboration of Tourneur. The significant comparison is with Spenser's *The Teares of the Muses*:

A stonie coldnesse hath benumbd the sence
And liuelie spirits of each liuing wight,
And dimd with darknesse their intelligence,
Darknesse more than *Cymerians* daylie night?
And monstrous error flying in the ayre,
Hath mard the face of all that semed fayre. (253–8)

Both poems are clearly in the same rhetorical tradition. Allardyce Nicoll finds the influence of Marston heavily imprinted on Tourneur's poem in its strange vocabulary, satiric intent, and metre; but Spenser's 'uncouth' language and the satirical tradition of *Mother Hubberds Tale* would serve equally as Tourneur's model. While Marston's influence appears occasionally in a chance word or phrase, the pervasive influence over both form and content is Spenser. One whole section of the poem is a direct adaptation of an episode from *The Faerie Queene*, and everywhere it is so alive with echoes from Spenser's poetry that it must have been written in the excitement of a close reading. For example, the motto to Tourneur's poem is:

Pursue the bloudy, that doth robbe the poore,
And drowns the orphants in their purple goare:
So shall thy race, wherein thou hast begunne;
In heauen end, for which thou so dost runne.

Its source is to be found in the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene*: Guyon vows to defend the 'young Orphane' who is infected by the 'bloudie gore' of his mother's death when 'in her streaming blood he did embay / His

litle hands'; but before he begins to seek vengeance, the Palmer addresses him before Arthur as one who

> Must now anew begin, like race to runne;
> God guide thee, *Guyon*, well to end thy warke,
> And to the wished hauen, bring thy weary barke.[1]

That this verbal echo is so inclusive demonstrates how thoroughly Tourneur has absorbed Spenser's poem. At times there is direct borrowing of a Spenserian word such as 'awhaping', 'ydrad', 'grisly', 'pricking', or of a symbol such as Pan or the Unicorn; but in general, the imitation is more thorough, and in place of mere parallels there is the significant analogue.

Tourneur's latest critic, Professor C. S. Lewis, regards *The Transformed Metamorphosis* as 'a surrealist mixture of horror and nonsense' and is unwilling to explain its meaning: 'Its editor Churton Collins speaks of "two stanzas which I shall not make myself ridiculous by trying to explain": I can only extend his principle to the whole.'[2] This difficulty over meaning is largely a problem of understanding the form of the poem. That problem may be resolved, and the poem's meaning clarified, by showing how its form is gained through Tourneur's imitation of Spenser.

The first half of Tourneur's poem describes through a series of visions the world's metamorphosis into hell; the second half praises Mavortio for his heroic slaying of a hellish monster, and concludes by showing the world retransformed by a Unicorn. The first part is satire and treats the themes common to the Elizabethan satirical tradition such as the world's decay, its greed for gold, its sinfulness and lust. The second part is an elegy upon the death of Mavortio. It satisfies the rhetorical conventions of that form, such as the universal lament for the hero's death combined with praise for his life, and his final deification.[3] Though the poem is commonly held to break into two independent parts, unity is achieved through a metaphor. In the Prologue a pallid spirit announces the strange event 'of *Phoebus* fall', and in the first part of the poem the world's metamorphosis is described as the powers of darkness 'driuing *Phoebus* from his chariot'. Through the same metaphor the second part records the exploits of the Muses' Phoebus and his 'sun-fall', and in the Epilogue, Tourneur declares 'my subiect was a heau'nly tapers death'. The poem has been taken as a satire, but it may be properly regarded as an elegy in which the usual motif of the decay of the world which accompanies the death of the hero is expanded into a full satirical vision of the world's metamorphosis into hell. Moreover, that

[1] *F.Q.*, II. i. 32. All references to Spenser are made to *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912).

[2] *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 476–7.

[3] Cf. A. L. Bennett, 'The Principal Rhetorical Conventions in the Renaissance Personal Elegy', *S.P.*, li (1954), 107–26.

metamorphosis is complete only with the death of the hero. Then the poet laments:

> How like blacke *Orcus* lookes this dampy caue,
> This obscure dungeon of *Cimmerian* sin,
> This hugy hell! my spirit gins to raue,
> To see blacke *Pluto* banquetting within
> The once-form'd world with his faire *Proserpin*.
> O see the world, all is by heau'n reiected,
> Now that the sacred Muses are infected. (554–60)

Here the satirist's vision of the world reduced to chaos and darkness—a significant analogue is the conclusion of Pope's *Dunciad*—and the elegist's vision of the world dying with the death of its god become one. Then the poem ends with an apocalyptic vision: the poet's rock of defence transformed into a Unicorn and linked with Eliza—the reference is obviously to the English Church with Elizabeth as head—converts the tragedy into comedy, and the whole world may unite 'in high Iehouah's praise'.

The first half of the poem, where a succession of images presents a vision of the world as fallen, is a pageant. Spenser may have suggested this form, which he uses frequently. Tourneur's first vision is the corruption of the Church by Rome:

> See, see, that mount that was the worldes admire,
> The stately Pyramis of glorious price;
> Whose seau'n hill'd head did ouer all aspire,
> Is now transform'd to *Hydra*-headed vice. (57–60)

It is 'too earthly high for soules to builde vpon' and he hopes to see 'ere long her *Babel* Babelliz'd'. In *The Visions of Bellay* Spenser presents a similar vision of a stately frame on a high hill falling into ruin; again in *The Ruines of Time* he shows a vision of 'that same great seuen headded beast' fallen in heaps, and the 'tragicke Pageant' of a stately Tower beyond compare to the Tower of Babel rearing up to Heaven but then falling into ruin. Tourneur's culminating vision from the steadfast rock, which Jove grants him so that he may view 'earths stage compleate with tragick sceans of wo', is the world tempting man to fall into the bondage of hell. The world's foundation upon hell is disguised by earthly pleasures, and any worldling seeking that pleasure is tempted down to Hell, being enchanted by the 'sence-bereauing gloses' of a serpent in female shape. There 'a shining hal, / Bedeckt with flowers of the fairest hew' where birds sing 'their pleasing laies' leads to a spacious room:

> The fraudfull floore of this deceitful place,
> Is all of quagmires, to intrap the wight
> That treades thereon: yet couer'd o're with grasse
> Of youthfull hew, al pleasing to earth's sight,

For so doth satan worke his diu'lish spight.
This roome will centuries of worlds containe,
How small mirths place, how large the place of paine!

Who ere's deceiu'd by this illusion,
Must surely fall into this deepe abisse,
Downe to the horror of deepe *Phlegeton*,
Whose fi'ry flames like vultures gnaw on flesh;
Yet iote of it neuer consumed is.
O let no wight trust to this worldly sheene:
For such ioyes hate, of God, best loued beene. (204–17)

For this central vision Tourneur draws heavily upon Spenser's image of Lucifera's House of Pride. Lucifera is the daughter of 'griesly *Pluto* . . . and sad *Proserpina* the Queene of hell' (that hellish pair whom Tourneur sees banqueting within the world), and to those who enter her house, her 'glorious vew / Their frayle amazed senses did confound'. Under her enchantment men follow the sins, and for a while 'take the solace of the open aire, / And in fresh flowring fields themselues to sport'; but soon they are chained in the dungeon below: 'condemned to that Dongeon mercilesse, / Where they should liue in woe, and die in wretchednesse'. As the room in Tourneur's vision 'will centuries of worlds containe', so this dungeon contains 'the endlesse routs of wretched thralles, / Which thither were assembled day by day, / From all the world'.[1] Tourneur uses also Spenser's account of Duessa's descent into Hell 'to fiery flood of *Phlegeton*', and to the 'house of endlesse paine' where she sees '*Tityrus* fed a vulture on his maw'.[2] Further, Tourneur's 'spacious roome, / More fairely farre adorned' recalls Spenser's account of Guyon's descent into Hell to Philotime's room which is 'large and wide' and adorned with crowns. Just as the floor of Tourneur's house of pain traps those who are deceived by this 'worldly sheene' down 'into this deep abisse', so in Philotime's room those who are tempted by 'all this worldes blis' fall 'to lowest Hell'.[3] For this central vision, then, Tourneur exploits Spenser's versions of the descent into hell. Added to this, there is in his image of the birds, flowers, and vines with the seeming pleasures by which the female serpent enchants the senses of worldly men, the clear imitation of Spenser's Bower of Bliss with its enchantress, Acrasia.

The first part of Tourneur's poem ends with an account of the lust for gold that brings the world's fall, and shows Pan's metamorphosis by the gold of India into a preying monster. The old age kept 'the treasuries / Of great *Apollo* once', but the present age 'teares vp our mothers wombe to finde hir slime: / And doth ysearch her bowells all vncleane'. Here

[1] *F.Q.*, I. iv. 11, 7, 37; v. 46, 51. [2] Ibid., I. v. 33, 35.
[3] *Trans. Met.*, 198, 216, 212; *F.Q.*, II. vii. 43, 48, 46.

Tourneur borrows from *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, where Guyon in Mammon's cave describes the love of gold as the cause of the fall. While 'the antique world . . . the gifts of soueraigne bountie did embrace', later ages were overcome by lust: 'then gan a cursed hand the quiet wombe / Of his great Grandmother with steele to wound.'[1] The figure of Pan who typifies the primitive Church is modelled closely, as Churton Collins first noted, on Pan in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*. The precise reference is to the May eclogue which relates how the shepherds served the primitive Church in contentment 'for *Pan* himselfe was their inheritaunce', but later wolves crept in to devour their sheep. Tourneur develops Spenser's satire upon the corrupt Church into a vision of Pan's transformation into a wolf who sells his sheep. Both poets shared a common faith in a past heroic age; and in a later poem Tourneur laments that 'there is no hope that any Age will be / So good and noble as the ancient were. / None so Heroique euer shall appeare'.[2] Accordingly, both turned to satire, and in that medium displayed their strong affinity in a fierce Protestantism, an uncompromising Calvinist ethic, and a militant religious spirit.[3]

In the second part of the poem which tells of the exploits and death of Mavortio, Tourneur imitates directly the opening episode of *The Faerie Queene*. A grisly monster in Delta ravages the country until 'at length *Mauortio*, a gallant Knight' slays it and its brood.[4] Tourneur's description of their battle is a pastiche drawn from Spenser's account of the Red Cross Knight's slaying of the monster Error. The phrase 'at length', for instance, is the typical phrase used by Spenser to begin a new episode. In the *Second Parnassus Play* 'Spencers veyne' is given by a parody of the opening line of *The Faerie Queene*;[5] so here Tourneur's reference to Mavortio 'pricking on the plaine' announces unmistakably the imitation of Spenser that follows. Like the Red Cross Knight, Mavortio goes to a den where he meets a monster half-woman and half-serpent and dismounts from his horse. Mavortio's enemy 'in her den she lay' and 'stretched foorth her selfe vpon the ground', as Error 'lay vpon the durtie ground' and her tail 'stretcht now

[1] *Trans. Met.*, 219–20; *F.Q.*, II. vii. 17.

[2] *A Griefe on the Death of Prince Henrie*, ll. 84–86.

[3] Cf. Harold Jenkins's remark which applies equally to Spenser: 'a militant morality is apparent in everything of Tourneur's that we know.' ('Cyril Tourneur', *R.E.S.*, XVII (1941), 27.)

[4] It is part of the unity of the poem that this monster with 'her Mermaides part' who lures lambs out of their way with the 'voice of man' is the monster of the first half of the poem, that serpent in female shape who soothes man 'with Leucrocutanized sound'. In his notes to the poem Churton Collins cites Florio's definition of a *Leucrocuta*: 'a beast that . . . counterfeits the voice of a man'. Churton Collins first noted that Mavortio's slaying of the monster bears some resemblance to the Red Cross Knight's battle with Error, and Dorothy Pym, op. cit., noted some of the parallels.

[5] *The First Part of the Return from Parnassus*, 1180.

forth at length'. In battle with the knight, Mavortio's enemy 'poyson hellie blacke / Forth hurled from her wide stretcht foaming throat'; Error 'spewd out of her filthy maw / A floud of poyson horrible and blacke'. Before her death Mavortio's enemy is aided by her drops of blood which 'transformed were to monsters on the heath' and who encompassed 'the good encombred Knight', even as Error 'poured forth out of her hellish sinke . . . deformed monsters' which 'swarming all about his legs did crall, / And him encombred sore'. From the former monster come 'streams of steaming blood' while from Error 'a streame of cole black bloud forth gushed'.[1]

After the eulogy of Mavortio which will be considered later, Tourneur describes the Muses wandering throughout the world where 'much teen they bide'. Crocodiles bathe 'in the pure *Castalian* head' and 'pure horsefoot *Helicon*, their filth defiles', and when the Muses drink they are infected. Only Urania escapes by withdrawing to the top of Parnassus where she is 'now come neerer vnto heau'n'. The infection of the Muses brings the climax to the poet's vision of the world metamorphosed into 'this obscure dungeon of *Cimmerian* sin'. In this episode, Tourneur is heavily indebted to Spenser's *The Teares of the Muses*. Here the Muses utter 'sorrowful sad tine', for Ignorance with 'beastlie filth' has stained their bowers:

> The sacred springs of horsefoot *Helicon*,
> So oft bedeawed with our learned layes,
> And speaking streames of pure *Castalion*,
> The famous witnesse of our wonted praise,
> They trampled haue with their fowle footings trade,
> And like to troubled puddles haue them made. (271–6)

The Muses who are now exiled 'walk through the world of euery one reuilde'. Only Urania escapes, and loathing earth she flies to heaven where she looks down upon the misery of men who 'like brute beasts doo lie in loathsome den'.[2]

At the end of Tourneur's poem, the poet's rock of defence is metamorphosed to a female Unicorn 'whose shining eies of glorious eminence, / Doth all the world with brightnes cleare adorne'. Churton Collins recognized that the Unicorn as female is a major crux in the poem, and Allardyce Nicoll suggests that the image may have occurred to Tourneur from Spenser's 'Like as a Lyon, whose imperiall powre / A prowd rebellious

[1] *Trans. Met.*, 366, 380, 406–7, 418, 420, 422, 442; *F.Q.*, I. i. 15, 16, 20, 22, 24. Tourneur adds details from the Red Cross Knight's other battle with a monster in Canto xi. Both monsters commit their 'dayly spoyle'; one has 'iawes farre stretch'd awide', the other's 'deepe deuouring iawes / Wide gaped'. Upon the death of Mavortio's enemies there were 'streams of steaming bloud swift running', while from the pierced wing of the Dragon 'forth flowed fresh / A gushing riuer of blacke goarie blood'. *Trans. Met.*, 351, 367, 442; *F.Q.*, I. xi. 2, 12, 22.

[2] *Trans. Met.*, 531, 549–50, 567, 585–6; *Teares*, 3, 342, 531–2.

Vnicorne defies' (*F.Q.*, II. v. 10). However, the image would seem to be taken from Spenser's *Astrophel* volume where a 'maiden Vnicorne' listens to a lament upon Sidney's death. In both poems the female Unicorn is linked with Elizabeth.[1]

The extent and range of Tourneur's imitation of Spenser, which includes the satires and elegies as well as *The Faerie Queene*, make the poem almost a tribute to Spenser. And since it is an elegiac poem appearing the year after Spenser's death it is reasonable to consider the hypothesis that Mavortio is Spenser. Here are the terms in which Tourneur praises Mavortio whose death is 'of heauen it selfe . . . but *eu'n now* lamented':

> O peerelesse worth! O worth *Mauortian!*
> Heau'n vpholding *Atlas*; warres melodie;
> Knight of the lilly; heauens champion;
> Artes patron; Muses dearest *Adonie*;
> *Vrania's* soule refreshing *Castalie*;
> Worthy the world; the world not worthy thee:
> 'That art deem'd worthy of the deitie.
>
> *Pieria's* darling; cleare-streaming *Helicon*;
> *Boeotia's* pearle; the nine voice'd harmony;
> Heart crystalline; tongue pure *Castalion*;
> *Delta's* Adamant; *Elizium's* melody;
> *Vrania's* selfe, that sung coelestially.[2] (456–62, 491–5)

Mavortio is praised as one who is the Muses' darling, Art's patron, and Mars's knight. The problem has been to find one who deserved such triple praise. It is important to note that the kinds of praise are not given equally. The emphasis is upon Mavortio's relation to the Muses, rather than to Mars; and the Muses, not Mars, may give birth to a new paragon. Again, the phrase 'Artes patron' does not mean in its context a patron of artists, but rather a patron or servant of the Muses, and Tourneur shows at length how Mavortio was squire to the Muses. It is reasonable, then,

[1] 'An Elegie for his Astrophill', 9.

[2] Allardyce Nicoll has shown the chronological difficulties in the way of Collins's suggestion that Mavortio is the Earl of Essex. His own suggestion of Marlowe is made only very tentatively. K. N. Cameron's case for Sir Christopher Heydon depends upon the parallel between the praise of Mavortio and the dedicatory praise of Heydon, but this is not supported by a careful reading of the passages; it confuses Arcadia and Delta; and it gives the highest praise of Arms and Arts to a man who may have been engaged in persecuting recusants in England (and not in Delta, which is Ireland), and who had not published anything at the time Tourneur made his dedication. Moreover, it would be little compliment to a patron to celebrate his death. To identify Mavortio as Henry VIII, J. D. Peter argues that Mavortio is metamorphosed into a Unicorn who is Elizabeth. But this violates the text: Mavortio is not metamorphosed into anything; instead, 'the rocke of my defence, / Is metamorphosde to an Vnicorne' (582–3). Besides, this identification imposes impossible chronological difficulties upon the poem, and removes any occasion for its appearing in 1600.

to relate Mavortio to a scholar rather than to a soldier or patron, and the only plausible identification is with Spenser. To Spenser, whose *Faerie Queene* was dedicated to Elizabeth and extolled her descent and virtues, belongs the praise, '*Elizium's* melodie'; and to the Virgil and Homer of England belongs the praise, 'Muses dearest *Adonie*', and '*Vrania's* selfe, that sung coelestially'. One external fact may support this identification. When Mavortio dies his spirit is taken to heaven, where he is deified in place of Mars,

> While *Mars* himselfe goes wandring vp and downe,
> Associated with the sacred brood,
> That hand in hand (like an enchaining rowne)
> Encompasse him: eu'n dead with want of food. (526–9)

These lines may be taken to mean that Mars is surrounded by the Muses, who are dead with want of food because they are no longer fed by Mavortio; but it is possible that 'him' refers to Mavortio, and the lines mean that he has died through 'want of food'. In 1600 the legend was current that Spenser had died through 'lake of bread' as Jonson told Drummond. About the same time Hall wrote to Camden that Spenser was slain through want; and in the *Return from Parnassus* Judicio exclaims against England which has allowed Spenser to die 'denying mayntenance for his deare releife'.[1]

There remains one problem in identifying Mavortio with a poet, and therefore with Spenser: Mavortio is also praised as '*Ioues* martialist'.[2] Presumably, this problem has led critics to identify Mavortio with a soldier who may also have been a poet, for the poet who is also a soldier is rare, though Tourneur himself is an example. Tourneur links the roles of arts and arms: the Muses left Parnassus to nurse Mavortio and make him 'apt' for Mars; later Mars descends to the world 'to liue on earth, leauing the sacred skies, / Only the muses deare to Martialize' (503–4). In other words, Mavortio becomes the martial poet, one who serves the Muses in order to glorify Mars. In the October Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* Spenser announces his intention to forsake the pastoral Muse in order to become the martial poet and 'sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of guists'. His heroic poem begins with an invocation to 'triumphant *Mart*' and the claim that 'fierce warres . . . shall moralize my song'. In the First Book where the Red Cross Knight prepares to battle with the Dragon, Spenser invokes the Muse

[1] Jonson, 'Conversations with Drummond', in Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925), i. 137. Hall, 'To Camden', in *The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall*, ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool, 1949), p. 105. Cf. Hall's poem 'To William Bedell': 'Ah me! That after unbeseeming Care, / And secret Want, which bred his [Spenser's] last misfare' (p. 123). 'The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus', 222, in *The Three Parnassus Plays*, ed. J. B. Leishman (London, 1949), p. 237.

[2] The name Mavortio (from Latin *Mavors* = Mars) has the same implication. *Mavortian*, *Mavortial* appear several times in this period with the sense 'martial' (*O.E.D.*, s.vv.).

who inspires martial troops and great heroes. He pleads that her 'furious fit' may be set aside 'till I of warres and bloudy *Mars* do sing' (xi. 7); and this furious fit inspires him in the Fifth Book where he celebrates England's wars against the Church of Rome. To Tourneur, a soldier in the Netherlands, this Book, and especially the tenth and eleventh cantos which celebrate Arthur's rescue of Belge, would make Spenser '*Ioue's* martialist' well deserving the praise of 'warres melodie; Knight of the lilly; heauens champion'. Spenser's Mavortian exploit in Delta, his defeat of the monster in Ireland, presents in idealized and allegorical terms the religious and political significance of *The Faerie Queene*.

That the Mavortio episode was written first, as Allardyce Nicoll maintains, may well be true. If so, Tourneur began with an elegy upon the occasion of Spenser's death, and naturally chose to imitate the opening and defining episode of *The Faerie Queene*. Inevitably, he sees his subject as 'a heau'nly tapers death'. William Browne uses the same image when he describes Spenser as Apollo who had come down to earth to sing of the heroic knights of faery land.[1] Tourneur's elegy then expanded into a treatment of the universal significance of his hero's death, the world's metamorphosis into hell, and here he imitated Spenser's vision of the world as fallen. If our knowledge of his life is accurate, it was natural that he should find his 'original' in Spenser. Both were exiles from England, and served in the outposts of Elizabeth's empire where the chief danger was the encroaching power of the Church of Rome. Both sought to awake the knights of Elizabeth's court to virtuous action; and the faith behind Spenser's effort in *The Faerie Queene* to present man perfected in all the virtues is matched by Tourneur's belief that '(onelie) in those *Minutes* that wee giue / To *Vertue*, wee are *Trulie* said to liue / *Men*, and no longer'.[2]

Is Mavortio Spenser? In Tourneur's 'chaoized conceit', as in Spenser's 'darke conceit' or in any highly conventional mode of writing, no literal identification is possible. In Jonson's masque, Spenser appears as one 'of PHOEBVS sons' who is summoned to restore the Golden Age.[3] In Tourneur's apocalyptic vision of the world as Hell where Pluto and Proserpina banquet within, the poet of *The Faerie Queene* would appear in his spiritual form as Mavortio, the Muses' Phoebus, whose act of slaying the hellish monster heralds the final overthrow of the powers of darkness.

[1] *Brit. Past.*, Book II, Song 1, ll. 986–1004.
[2] *The Death of Prince Henrie*, 75–77.
[3] 'The Golden Age Restor'd', 115, in Herford and Simpson, vii. 425.

LONGINUS IN ENGLISH CRITICISM: INFLUENCES BEFORE MILTON

By T. J. B. Spencer

MILTON, in his little tractate *Of Education* published in 1644, having outlined a course of study in law, history, religion, oratory, &c., for his pupils, proceeds:

> And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which inable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted stile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is useful, is to be referr'd to this due place with all her well-coucht Heads and Topics, untill it be time to open her contracted palm into a gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of *Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus*.[1]

The allusion to Longinus in this passage has some celebrity for being the first appearance of the great Greek critic in English literature, and it is frequently so quoted; by W. Rhys Roberts, for example, in his standard edition of *Longinus on the Sublime*,[2] and by Alfred Rosenberg in his thorough survey, *Longinus in England bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1917, p. 6). The information was taken over by J. W. H. Atkins in his *English Literary Criticism: The Renascence* (1947): 'not without its significance is the fact that here for the first time mention is made of the work of "Longinus"' (p. 337). Atkins's assertion of Milton's priority has been corroborated even by the higher authority of Professor Donald Lemen Clark, in a paper read to the Modern Language Association of America in 1952[3] ('To the best of my knowledge this statement is true of works in English'). Clark points out, however, that in Latin, at an earlier date than Milton's tractate, references are given to Longinus in a little schoolbook written by Thomas Farnaby, his *Index Rhetoricus, scholis & institutioni tenerioris aetatis accommodatus*, a rhetorical compendium first printed in London in 1625, and reissued several times later (1633, 1634, 1650). Here Longinus is referred to as one of the many authorities on such figures as *amplificatio*; and in the summary of the characteristics of the three styles, *humilis, media*, and *sublimis*, Longinus appears in the margin as the authority on the third.[4] But for Farnaby, as for Milton, Longinus is merely one among the numerous Greek, Latin, and Renaissance rhetorical writers.

[1] *Works* (Columbia edn.), iv. 286. [2] Second edn. (Cambridge, 1907), p. 261.
[3] 'John Milton and "the fitted stile of lofty, mean, or lowly"', printed in *Seventeenth-Century News*, xi (1953), no. 4, supp. pp. 5–9. [4] p. 58 of the 1633 edition.

In view of the currency of the information about Milton's priority, it is worth pointing out that it is incorrect. Longinus is not, in fact, introduced into English literature by a jejune and insignificant mention in a list of ancient rhetoricians. On the contrary, it is as a literary critic that he arrives; first, by a vigorous denunciation from the pen of George Chapman; and secondly, by a finely perceptive appreciation of his merits, with translations of some of the best passages, by one of the most interesting scholars of the seventeenth century, the younger Francis Junius, an honoured name among the founders of English studies.

Longinus, it will be remembered (in that wonderful ninth section, so much admired by Gibbon as 'one of the finest monuments of Antiquity'),[1] thought that the *Odyssey* was a work of Homer's old age; the intensity of the *Iliad* had gone. This derogatory suggestion aroused Chapman's indignation, and in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Odysses* in 1612, having given his panegyric of the 'composure' (or composition) of the poem, he adds:

> Much wonderd at therefore, is the Censure of *Dionysius Longinus* (a man otherwise affirmed, grave, and of elegant judgment) comparing *Homer* in his *Iliads*, to the Sunne rising; in his *Odysses*, to his descent or setting. Or to the *Ocean* robd of his æsture; many tributorie flouds and rivers of excellent ornament, withheld from their observance. When this his worke so farre exceeds the *Ocean*, with all his Court and concourse; that all his Sea, is only a serviceable streame to it. Nor can it be compared to any One power to be named in nature; being an entirely wel-sorted and digested Confluence of all. Where the most solide and grave, is made as nimble and fluent, as the most airie and firie; the nimble and fluent, as firme and wel-bounded as the most grave and solid. . . . But this Prozer *Dionysius*, and the rest of these grave and reputatively learned, (that dare undertake for their gravities, the headstrong censure of all things; and challenge the understanding of these Toyes in their childhoods: when even these childish vanities, retaine deepe and most necessarie learning enough in them, to make them children in their ages, and teach them while they live) are not in these absolute divine Infusions, allowd either voice or relish: for, *Qui Poeticas ad fores accedit, &c.* (says the Divine Philosopher) he that knocks at the Gates of the *Muses*; *sine Musarum furore*, is neither to be admitted entrie, nor a touch at their Thresholds: his opinion of entrie, ridiculous, and his presumption impious.[2]

Chapman's onslaught upon the author of the *Περὶ Ὕψους* as being a 'proser', congenitally incapable of appreciating poetry, has probably never been repeated or rivalled.

More congruous with later opinion was the praise of Longinus inserted

[1] *Gibbon's Journal*, ed. D. M. Low (London, 1929), p. 155 (3 October 1762).

[2] *The Whole Works of Homer; Prince of Poetts. In his Iliads, and Odysses* [1616]; sig. A4 of *Odysses*.

by Francis Junius in his work *De Pictura Veterum*, first published in Latin at Amsterdam in 1637 and immediately afterwards in the author's own English version (much revised and rewritten) as *The Painting of the Ancients, in three Bookes: Declaring by Historicall Observations and Examples, the Beginning, Progresse, and Consummation of that most Noble Art* (London, 1638). In spite of its discouraging title, a good deal of Junius's book is really a general treatise on what we now call 'aesthetics'. The English version is much better than the Latin one, where the text is encumbered by the weight of quotation and reference, doubtless intended for the European republic of learning. In English, Junius was writing for the general reader and he appears to have had no difficulty in expressing himself in his adopted tongue (he had been in England since 1621 as librarian to the Earl of Arundel). The first part of his book is largely taken up by a discussion of the nature of the Imagination and of the parallel between Painting and Poetry. His chapter on the importance of 'a strong and well-exercised Imagination' is based primarily on the old notion of the *furor poeticus*:

> The *Poëts* impelled by the sudden heate of a thoroughly stirred Phantasie, or rather transported as by a propheticall traunce, doe cleerely behold the round rings of prettily dancing Nymphs, together with the ambushes of lurking lecherous Satyrs: they see all kinde of armour and unbridled horses with their tossed and tottered waggons . . . (p. 60)

and so forth. But this soon becomes transformed by his reading of the fifteenth section of Longinus' treatise, and he sees the importance of the control of the reader's or spectator's imagination by means of that ἐνάργεια, distinctness or 'perspicuity' (as Junius translates it):

> *Dionys. Longinus*, affirming that Perspicuitie is the chiefest thing our Phantasie aimeth at, doth furthermore adde, that Art by the helpe of that same Perspicuitie doth seeme to obtaine easily of a man what shee forceth him to, and though shee doth ravish the minds and hearts of them that view her workes, yet doe they not feel themselves violently carried away, but thinke themselves gently led to the liking of what they see: neither can it bee otherwise: for as the Artificers that doe goe about their workes filled with an imagination of the presence of things, leave in their workes a certaine spirit drawne and derived out of the contemplation of things present; so is it not possible but that same spirit transfused into their workes, should likewise prevaile with the spectatours, working in them the same impression of the presence of things that was in the Artificers themselves. And this is questionlesse that same Perspicuitie, the brood and only daughter of Phantasie, so highly commended by *Longinus*, for whosoever meeteth with an evident and clear sight of things present, must needs bee mooved as with the presence of things.[1]

[1] pp. 63–64; Longinus, xv.

And in discussing that 'grandeur of mind' which should characterize the great artist, it is again Longinus' insistence on μεγαλοφροσυνη and his criterion of *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, that is the basis of his thought:

It is worth our labour to observe out of *Longinus* an infallible marke of true magnificence. *That is great indeed*, sayth he, *which doth still returne into our thoughts, which we can hardly or rather not at all put out of our minde, but the memorie of it sticketh close in us and will not be rubbed out: esteeme that also to be a most excellent and true magnificence, which is liked alwayes and by all men: for when all such men as differ in their studies, course of life, purposes, and ages, doe all agree in their opinion about one and the same thing, the judgement and approbation of so many diversly minded folks, must needs gain a constant and certaine estimation of the thing so much admired. . . .*[1] *Magnificent thoughts come by nature, and cannot be taught*, sayth *Longinus*, *yea, the onely art to attaine unto the same, is that Nature should fit us to high conceited and lofty things.* And again, *Great minded men are most of all given to entertain stately conceits. . . . It is impossible that those*, sayth Longinus, who busie the thoughts and studies of their whole life about vile and servile matters, *should bring forth any thing that might deserve the admiration of all ages.*[2]

'Magnificence', says Junius, 'doth shew it selfe in a well-conceived invention', and not in an ill-controlled one. Like later readers, he seems to have been as deeply impressed by Longinus' warnings about the false sublime as by his encouragement towards achieving the true sublime.

The things . . . proceeding from such a vaine minde *seeme rather to arise out of a tumultuous distemper of troubled and turbulent phantasies*, sayth *Longinus*, *then to be handled after a magnificent way: and if you examine every one of these things in a true light, what even now was terrible, shall by little and little grow contemptible*: so is it then much better forthwith to looke for a remedie, and not to suffer our minde aspiring to greater matters should entertaine frivolous and ridiculously swelling conceits, in stead of a serious & haughtie Invention.[3]

Among the categories of the false sublime, none is more dangerous than that sentiment or affectation of style which is so delightfully named παρένθυρσος.

This imperfection is well and properly called *parenthyrsus*: and it is nothing else but *an unseasonable and vaine passion*, sayth *Longinus*, *where there needs no passion; or else an immoderate passion, where a moderate might serve the turne: for some, as if they were besotted with drink, use many passions of their own, or else brought out of the schooles, never regarding whether they be proper for the matter in hand.*[4]

[1] p. 246; Longinus, VII. 3–4.
[2] pp. 245–6; Longinus, III. 1.
[3] pp. 247, 248; Longinus, II. 1 and IX. 3.
[4] p. 306; Longinus, III. 5.

Greatness, indeed, needs the spur often, but it also needs the bit.

Although now in the former exhortations wee have studied to bring the Artificers to a forward and generous boldnesse, it is for all that required here, that great witts should moderate somthing the hot furie of their firie spirits; seeing young beginners verie often are so taken up with the love of their Imaginations, that they entertaine them with greater delight then judgement: *the witts now a dates*, saith *Dyonysius Longinus*, *runne corybant-like madde after all kind of new-fangled conceits: for of whom wee have the best things, the worst also love most commonly to be brought forth by them:* and this is doubtlesse the trûe reason why meane and ordinary witts doe very often follow their intended purposes with a great deal of constancie; seeing they are not so easily drawne aside by the sweet tickling of any sudden and unexpected Imagination.[1]

When Junius comes to discuss the way in which the contemplation of the works of the great artists and poets of the past can inspire thoughts of magnanimous emulation, he again turns to Longinus:

Longinus his words are worth noting: *Many are carried away by another mans spirit as by a divine inspiration*, sayth he, *even as the report goeth, that* Pythia *the Priest of Apollo is suddenly surprised when she approcheth unto the trivet: where they say there is an abrupt hole in the ground, breathing forth a divine exhalation; and that the priest filled with this divine power, doth instantly prophecie by inspiration. Even so do we see, that from the loftinesse of the Antients there doe flow some little streames into the mindes of their imitators, so that they finde themselves compelled to follow their greatnesse for company, though else of their owne accord they are very little given to these enthusiasticall fits. Neither may this be called a theft, seeing it is but an expression of the bravest maners, devices, and works of the Antients. So is this same strife and contention for glory most worthy of praise and victory; yea it is glorious enough to be therein overcome by our predecessors.*[2]

The ease and confidence with which Junius brings forward some of Longinus' great sayings, which, after Boileau's translation, were to be famous and formative throughout Europe, is remarkable. He quotes approvingly '*Art is then perfect*, sayth *Dionisius Longinus, when shee seemeth to be Nature*'; and 'Dionys. Longinus speaketh well to the purpose when he sayth, *We see the skil of invention, the order and disposition of things, as it sheweth it self, not in one or two parts only, but in the whole composition of the worke, and that hardly too*'; and (to give one final example) 'Facilitie of judging; *the last brood of great experience*, as *Dionys. Longinus* calleth it'.[3]

Briefly, Junius appreciates Longinus for his views on the imagination and ἐναργεια; the false sublime; parenthyrsus and turbid imagery; the relation of nature and art; the notion of maturity of judgement; and the

[1] p. 41; Longinus, v.
[2] p. 250; Longinus, xiii. 2–4 (with omissions).
[3] pp. 305, 335, 347; Longinus, xxii. 1; i. 4; vi.

stimulating and creative influence of older 'classical' writers on the moderns —in fact, most of those things for which Longinus was to be admired by Boileau, Dryden, Addison, Pope, and so on to the present day. And he gives vivacious translations of some of the most telling passages, fifteen years before John Hall's *Περὶ Ὕψους, Or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence* (1652), a poor work.[1] With Junius, we seem to be in another intellectual sphere from the cataloguing of Longinus among an aridity of rhetoricians.

Certainly Longinus was readily available in England just at that time, and there is not much excuse for Milton's neglect. For Gerard Langbaine published his *Dionysii Longini Rhetoris Praestantissimi Liber De grandi loquentia sive Sublimi dicendi genere* at Oxford in 1636, an edition with Latin translation and notes, reissued in 1638 and 1650. Sidney Lee, writing on Langbaine in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, said that this work was 'admirable in all respects'. It is, however, shamelessly based on the Geneva edition of 1612 by Gabriele de Petra. Yet the Oxford edition of 1636 seems to have been a result of some genuine interest in Longinus among the learned. Langbaine tells us that he was egged on to prepare his edition by his old tutor, Thomas Wethereld, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford (p. 117); that Patrick Young, the King's Librarian, lent him a copy of the *editio princeps* of Robertelli (1554); and that Henry Hammond, soon to be famous for his adventurous life as chaplain to the King in his misfortunes, drew his attention to an interesting manuscript of the work[2] (probably that of Andreas Dudith[3] who came to England with Cardinal Pole in 1554).

Of course, Milton *ought* to have appreciated Longinus on the Sublime. But efforts to demonstrate that he had any real knowledge of the treatise remain inconclusive and unconvincing.[4] In view of the English interest in

[1] The superiority of Junius to Hall can be seen by comparing Hall's version of the *quod semper* passage: 'For that indeed is only *truly noble* which will stand to the test of a *scrutinous consideration*, and which so *possesses* us that we are not able to *forget* it; for the memory is *greedy* and will not shake hands with a thing *acceptable* [*sic*]. But believe you those things to be only *truly* and *exquisitely high*, that can please *all men* and at *all times*; therefore when you see men of *different customes*, *opinions* and *ages* unanimously approve *one* speech, it is to be supposed that the judgement of so many *various* minds *consenting* therein is uncontroulable and to be acquiesc'd in.' (pp. xi–xii.)

[2] Cum de edendo hoc authore primum cogitavi, prospexi mihi de prioribus editionibus; apud me habui & *Graeco-latinam Gabrielis* de *Petra* & *Graecam Crispini*; *Robertelli* alteram benigne nobis communicavit in reipublicae literariae bonum natus Clarissimus Vir *Patricius Junius*, bibliothecae Regiae Curator dignissimus; transmisit item & codicem manuscriptum, ipsissima *πολυμαθεστάτου Stephani* manu exaratum; illud enim me nescire noluit notissimae eruditionis vir *Henricus Hammond*, *Regiae* Majestati a sacris. (p. 115, second numbering.)

[3] See W. Rhys Roberts, 'Note on a Cambridge manuscript of the *De Sublimitate*', *Classical Review*, xii (1898), 301.

[4] J. Churton Collins, 'Longinus and Greek Criticism' in *Studies in Poetry and Criticism* (London, 1905), pp. 211–12; D. L. Clark, op. cit. (p. 137, n. 3 above), p. 9.

Longinus in the immediately preceding years and the lively appreciativeness of Francis Junius who, it is thought, 'must almost certainly have been a personal acquaintance of Milton's'[1], the solitary mention in the tractate *Of Education* can hardly be regarded as of much interest or significance.

[1] David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (7 vols., 1859–94), vi. 557. For interesting evidence that Milton and Junius were acquainted, at any rate in later years, see J. W. Lever, '*Paradise Lost* and the Anglo-Saxon Tradition', *R.E.S.*, xxiii (1947), 97–106.

SIX LETTERS BY CHRISTOPHER SMART

By Cecil Price

LITTLE is known about the life of Christopher Smart in the seven years preceding his death in 1771, and that is one reason why the following letters are of interest. They also present us with a pathetic picture of his dependence on others in this last phase of his troubled life.

The six letters were written to Paul Panton,[1] a Flintshire landowner who also gave aid to the Welsh poet Evan Evans. Panton was probably willing to help Smart for three reasons: kind-heartedness, Smart's Welsh connexion,[2] and the fact that the two men had been contemporaries at Cambridge.[3]

All six letters were written by Smart from Storey's Gate Coffee House, St. James's Park.[4] The first of them is dated 10 January 1766, five months after the publication of his long delayed work, *A Translation of the Psalms, &c.* The letter[5] reads:

Storey's Gate Coffee House S^{t} James's
Park Jañry 10th 1766

D^{r} S^{ir}

I shou'd have dispatched your books according to your commands, but lost your letter & the directions therein contained. — It will be a very kind thing to collect the 2^{d} payments for me & send them & you shall have the books as soon as I am repossessed of the directions — For you must know I was lately arrested by my printer for Eighty Six pounds & must have gone to jail for that very book, from which I was in hopes of [?] ingenuous bread, if it had not been for a kind friend, who cou'd not bear to see my tears — I am going to impose another tax upon my friends for a new Volume of Missellaneous Poems, which nothing but absolute want shou'd have compelled me to — Pray let me hear from you soon —

Your most obliged
& affectionate
Christopher Smart.

(*Direction*: To
Paul Panton Esq^{r}
at Plas Gwyn in
Anglesea
North Wales.

Postmark: 11 JA)

[1] Paul Panton (1731–97) of Plâs Gwyn, Anglesey, and Holywell, Flintshire, was a friend of Thomas Pennant and owned a large collection of Welsh manuscripts.

[2] Smart was the son of Winifred Griffiths of Radnorshire.

[3] Smart was admitted as sizar at Pembroke in 1739 and became a fellow in 1745. Panton was admitted as pensioner at Trinity Hall in 1744. (J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1927), iv. 92.)

[4] 'Since his release [from Bedlam], Smart had been living with a private family in very pleasant quarters near St. James's Park.' (E. G. Ainsworth and C. E. Noyes, *Christopher Smart* (Columbia, Missouri, 1943), p. 135.)

[5] National Library of Wales MS. 9071 E, 88.

It is difficult to discover exactly what Smart referred to in this poignant letter. From the opening two sentences, I infer that Panton acted as Smart's agent among his Welsh friends and possibly collected orders and subscriptions for *A Translation of the Psalms*. His printer was Dryden Leach but nothing seems to be known about the threatened arrest, and I am unable to identify the compassionate friend. The last sentence of the letter is very like Smart's short note to George Colman, the dramatist and theatrical manager: 'I find myself reduced by the necessity of the case again to tax such of my friends as are disposed to do me the honour of their names.'[1] As for the promised collection of miscellaneous poems, Smart seems never to have brought it out.

Twelve months later, he wrote to Panton again:

Storeys Gate Coffee House Jañry 22d 1767

Dear Sr

Mr Mason the King's Chaplain coming lately to Town waited on Mr Stonhewer to enquire after me & seemed affectionately anxious concerning the state of my affairs. Mr Stonhewer informed him, that he had procurd me to be put upon the lists of Expectants for a Poor Knight of Windsor, but that there was no likelihood of a vacancy for some years. Mr Mason then proposed an annual Subscription of a guinea or two yearly amongst my friends. Sundry gentlemen have come in to this goodnaturd Scheme, which was none of my own devising: but being urged by Mason I made application to such of my Benefactors, whose wishd goodness in a manner gives me warrant.

I am Dr Sr,
Yr most obliged &
most obedient Sert
Christopher Smart[2]

(*Direction*: As before. *Postmark*: 22 JA)

The fact that Smart had been promised the next vacancy of Poor Chevalier in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor, was already known from a note in the State Papers,[3] but Stonhewer's connexion with it is here revealed for the first time. Stonhewer[4] had been able to use his intimacy with the Duke of Grafton to promote the interests of his own friends and to obtain Thomas Gray's chair at Cambridge. He seems to have been equally ready to serve Smart, for they had in common Durham and Cambridge associations. Stonhewer was also the London contact of William Mason, poet, fellow of

[1] *Posthumous Letters Addressed to Francis Colman and George Colman the Elder* (London 1820), p. 90. See Ainsworth and Noyes, op. cit., p. 139.

[2] Nat. Lib. Wales MS. 9071 E, 112.

[3] *Domestic Entry Book 157*, quoted by Ainsworth and Noyes, op. cit., p. 139.

[4] Richard Stonhewer (1728?–1809) was a fellow of Peterhouse and tutor to the third Duke of Grafton. In June 1766 he became Under-Secretary for the Southern Department.

Pembroke College, and friend of Gray and Walpole. Mason, in his turn, did all he could to assist Smart and, as early as 1763, secured a small subscription for him. Smart never became a Poor Knight of Windsor, but, as his subsequent letters to Panton indicate, he did benefit from Mason's plan for annual gifts from his friends.

Both Smart's previous letters had been redirected to Panton at Holywell, Flintshire, and in his third letter, Smart apologized for sending them to the wrong address:

Storey's Gate Coffee House S^{t} James's Park Feb 12th 1767.

Dear Sir

I am sorry any mistake shou'd happen by my directing the letter to the wrong place, however your most friendly & obliging answer came in very good time. I communicated the contents to M^{r} Mason, who is at present in a very pitiable state of anxiety concerning his wife, which he lately married & is now dangerously ill. He has not succeeded very well with regard to numbers, & his plan rather interferes with the present application I am making for Subscribers to a 2^{d} Vol. of Missellaneous Poems. I beg the favour you wou'd order your Bookseller to dispatch the [?] watchd Psalms to Pater Noster Row as fast as possible, they being wanted in London. Once more give me leave to repeat my best thanks for your generous intentions in my favour & believe me to be with much affection & respect

your most oblig'd old friend
& humble Ser^{t}
Christopher Smart.[1]

(*Direction*: To Paul Panton Esq
at Holywell
Flintshire.
Postmark: 12 FE)

I surmise from this letter that Panton had not been able to find a gentleman willing to take off his hands all the copies of Smart's *A Translation of the Psalms, &c.*, and that the poet now required them to meet demand in London.

His fourth letter is very brief:

Storey's Gate Coffee House S^{t} James Park
April ye 24th 1767.

My Dear Friend,

I acknowledge the receipt of two guineas paid me with much Politeness by

[1] Nat. Lib. Wales MS. 9071 E, 113.

D^r Wynn, being the annual contribution you are pleased to lay upon yourself in my behalf[1] agreeable to the plan proposed by M^r Mason.

I am with much respect
affection &
thankfulness
ever yours to command
Christopher Smart.[2]

(No direction)

His next letter followed practically the same lines:

Storey's Gate Coffee House St. James's Park Janry y^e 4th 1768

Dear Sir

It is now the anniversary of Mason's kind plan in my favour, which I humbly take the liberty of reminding you of — You subscribed two guineas last year & promised to continue it — If every man, that had much more cause to use me kindly had been possessed of your generous sentiments, I should have been well enough off with regard to circumstances — I pray God bless you & many happy years attend you!

Your most affectionate &
most obliged friend &
Servant
Christopher Smart[3]

Are we to entertain the hopes of seeing you in Town?

(*Direction*: To Paul Panton Esq^e
at Holywell
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Postmark: 5 JA)

Probably to spare the poet having to repeat this humiliating form of application, Panton sent the following year's gift early in the autumn to the man who was to pay it over to Smart. This person was William Wynne of Doctors' Commons, an old Trinity Hall friend. Unluckily for Smart, Wynne left London for the country before the present reached his hands. When he returned, he found that Smart had not called, so the lawyer wrote to Panton to ask for further instructions.[4] Ten days earlier, Smart had

[1] In a letter to Panton of 30 April 1767, J. Wynne writes: 'Mr. Smart called on the Dr. for the Two Gn^s you were so kind as to send him; which were paid to him accordingly.' (Nat. Lib. Wales MS. 9071 E, 116.)

[2] Nat. Lib. Wales MS. 9071, 115.

[3] Ibid. 9071, RI 52.

[4] His letter was dated 12 Jan. 1769, from Doctors' Commons: '. . . the Occasion is to enquire what you would have me do with the two Guineas which you sent to my Brother directed to me, before I came into Flintshire, in the last Autumn. I concluded you

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written to Panton in a tone that clearly shows his bewilderment at the way circumstances continued to bully him. His letter[1] reads:

Storey's Gate Coffee House
Westminster Jan: 2d 1769

Dear Sir

I send this for the favour of your annual two guineas, which I am in want of God knows; tho' by the Death of Frank Smart I am direct heir to an Estate of six hundred pounds a year: but so obstinate is my adversity, that a thousand obstacles are thrown in the way of my just claim. I heartily wish you my compliments of the season many cheerful returns of the year & am with affectionate respect

Your most obliged Sert
Christopher Smart.

(*Direction*: To
Paul Panton Esqr
at Holywell
Flintshire.
Postmark: 3 JA)

Obstinate adversity spared him nothing: he was taken up for debt and sent to the King's Bench prison. He appears never to have inherited the estate; good fortune eluded him to the end.

intended them for Mr. Smart, but he has never called upon me for them, as he did once before for a Bounty of the same kind which you entrusted me with for him; so that I must desire you to favour me with your further Directions which I shall obey with great pleasure. . . .' (Nat. Lib. Wales MS. 9071, RI 52).

[1] Nat. Lib. Wales MS. 9071, 132.

THE 'TRUMPET-MAJOR NOTEBOOK' AND *THE DYNASTS*

By EMMA CLIFFORD

I

THERE is in existence a notebook made by Thomas Hardy when undertaking research at the British Museum in preparation for writing *The Trumpet-Major* which contains material he used again when writing Part First of *The Dynasts*, about twenty years later.[1] A comparison of Hardy's use of the same material in these very different works yields some interesting critical points.

I begin with a brief description of the notebook itself.[2] For purposes of reference, I entitle it the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook'. It is small and neat; the pages are sewn into a paper cover, and the title on the front cover, in Hardy's handwriting, reads as follows:

B^{sh}. Museum.

Notes
taken for "Trumpet Major"
& other books of time of Geo III
in
(1878–1879–)

King George at Weymouth:
1789, 1791, 1792, 1794, 1795
1796, 1797, 1798, 1801, 1802
1804, 1805–

[1] Florence Hardy, *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1930), p. 227: '. . . there is in existence a notebook filled with details of the Napoleonic wars, and reflection upon them, having been written at the time he was gathering material for *The Trumpet-Major*, which was first published in 1880'. The notebook is now lodged in the County Museum at Dorchester. I am indebted to the Trustees of the Hardy Estate for permission to quote from Thomas Hardy's notebook; and to the Trustees and Macmillan & Co., Ltd., for permission to quote from Thomas Hardy's published works and Mrs. Hardy's life of Thomas Hardy.

[2] R. L. Purdy, *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study* (London, 1954), p. 34. R. L. Purdy describes the notebook briefly and refers to it as work done by Hardy in preparation for writing *The Trumpet-Major*; but it has not, as far as I am aware, been noticed that material from this notebook is also used directly in *The Dynasts*. Hardy's latest biographer, Miss Evelyn Hardy, also briefly describes the notebook: see *Thomas Hardy: A Critical Biography* (London, 1954), p. 44 and p. 171.

The pagination of the notebook falls into two sections,[1] and we can, of course, assume that the notes were made on various occasions.[2] Hardy heads the first section '1803–5—notes—(I) B.M. & C.', and the pages are numbered 1–61. Of these, pp. 1–(58) form a continuous body of notes; p. 58 begins various odd notes and lists of books, and these are continued on unnumbered pages that are bound between the two sections. The second section is headed 'B.M. III', and the pages are numbered 1–(68), and of these, pp. 1–(42) form a continuous body of notes; pp. 43–(64) are blanks, and pp. 65–(68) again contain odd notes and lists. For purposes of quotation, I call these two sections 'First Half' and 'Second Half'.

The main contents of the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook' consist of details of history of the first five years of the nineteenth century. They are taken from newspapers and magazines, from publications concerning the army and navy and the standing orders of various regiments, and from the *Adventures and Recollections of Colonel Landmann*.[3] There is also a reference to Rowlandson's and Ackermann's plates (First Half, p. 59), and sketches and notes from Gillray's caricatures (Second Half, pp. 1–7). The list of book titles and volumes of prints on naval, military, and other historical matters which is bound between the two sections would seem to have been taken from the catalogues of the British Museum. Some of the notes Hardy makes are written notes and others are small thumbnail sketches. Certain of the abstracts and paraphrases concern his literary and other reading; but, as far as his historical interests are concerned,[4] they are chiefly on the following subjects: regimental and military matters, such as regulations and details of uniforms; George III and his family at Wey-

[1] In the pagination of both sections the odd numbers are written and the even-numbered pages are the backs of the odd-numbered pages, except First Half, pp. 44–54, where even, not odd, numbers are written; but in referring to it I enclose all even numbers in brackets.

[2] Thomas Hardy went to live in London in March 1878, residing at 1, Arundel Terrace, just beyond Wandsworth Common (Florence Hardy, *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1928), p. 157). He was living in London when *The Trumpet-Major* was published, and returned to Dorset in 1881 (ibid., p. 193).

[3] *Adventures and Recollections of Colonel Landmann*, 2 vols. (London, 1852). Hardy sometimes refers to this work as 'Landmann' and makes the following note in the notebook: '(Read this book again—contains much about dress of persons—naval officers—customs of same &c.—)' (First Half, p. 49).

[4] An interesting historical detail in the notebook is a note on the Defence of the Country Debate that Hardy indicates is taken from *The Morning Chronicle*, 9 June 1804. This is, presumably, the debate on the bill that Sheridan characterizes as 'Mr. Pitt's new Patent Parish Pill' in the dramatization of a House of Commons Debate in *The Dynasts*, Pt. I, I. iii; and Hardy, who later in the same scene writes the ironical lyric of the Ins and Outs, has noted the voting figures in this debate with great interest. He writes:

For the 2*d* reading	221
Against it	181
Majority only	40!! (Second Half, p. 7).

mouth; clothes and furniture of the time; the theatre and stage; press-gangs and smugglers; and references to great national events, such as the expected invasion and the battle of Trafalgar.

II

The notes in the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook' are not, as far as I can see, in any significant order, nor is there any indication of Hardy's use of them in any particular work;[1] but Hardy's title-page says that they are to be used for 'other books of time of Geo III', and, as the first note we have for a poetical work on the Napoleonic wars was made in 1874,[2] three years before the first of these notes were written, it is possible that he contemplated using them in the writing of his Napoleonic work from the beginning of its conception.[3]

Some of the facts in the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook' appear in *The Dynasts* only, and, although I am primarily concerned with material that is used in both *The Trumpet-Major* and *The Dynasts*, I begin by noting a few points that do not appear in *The Trumpet-Major*. There is, for instance, the coach passenger's reference to the loss of the *Abergavenny* off Portland. He tells his fellow passengers:

> That wide bay on the right is where the 'Abergavenny,' Captain John Wordsworth, was wrecked last month.[4]

and Hardy's note, without the name of the captain, which must come from another source, is:

> 1805 Feb.—The Abergavenny, East Indiaman, went down off Portland Bill.[5]

Queen Charlotte's red cloak is another example of a fact in the notebook that appears in *The Dynasts*. A Weymouth man who is watching the King review the troops on the downs, says:

> Gloucester Lodge could be surrounded, and George and Charlotte carried off before he could put on his hat, or she her red cloak and pattens![6]

and Hardy's note from the *Adventures and Recollections of Colonel Landmann* is:

> 6 a.m. The Queen in the street—a little old woman, small black silk bonnet, & the remainder of her person covered by a short plain scarlet cloth cloak. . . .[7]

[1] Material from the notebook is used throughout *The Trumpet-Major*, but it is used only in Part I of *The Dynasts*, mainly in Pt. I. I. i and Pt. I. II. iv.

[2] Evelyn Hardy, *Thomas Hardy's Notebooks* (London, 1955), p. 45.

[3] In this connexion, it is interesting to note that Mrs. Hardy refers to the notebook as evidence that Hardy was interested in the Napoleonic wars for some years before he came to write *The Dynasts* (*The Later Years*, p. 227).

[4] Pt. I. I. i, p. 8. My quotations from *The Dynasts* are from the 1926 reprint of the Complete Edition published by Macmillan & Co. in 1910.

[5] First Half, p. 31.

[6] Pt. I. II. iv, p. 47.

[7] First Half, p. (46). Hardy's note is taken from Landmann, ii. 302.

There is also the oath 'damn my wig' which is uttered by the Third Passenger in the coach going over the Ridgeway, and is a literal transcription of a note made from *The Morning Chronicle* in the notebook. The passenger says:

> Damn my wig, sir, if I'll be called a traitor by you or any Court sycophant at all at all![1]

and the note is:

> Oath of the period 'Damn my wig'—ib Oct 11.[2]

These small facts appear in the speeches of a group of anonymous persons who are bandying a good deal of minor factual information in idle gossip, and as such they form interesting examples of Hardy's tendency in *The Dynasts* to alight on small facts, glimpse them briefly, and then to glance away from them to take up some other fact or observation.

Let us now consider Hardy's use in *The Dynasts* of a longer extract from the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook'—the anecdote of the King and Queen missing a performance at the Weymouth theatre. This, too, is mentioned by a spectator at the review. He says:

> Everybody however was fairly gallied this week when the King went out yachting, meaning to be back for the theatre; and the time passed, and it got dark, and the play couldn't begin, and eight or nine o'clock came, and never a sign of him. I don't know when 'a did land; but 'twas said by all that it was a foolhardy pleasure to take.[3]

This is the account of the incident as copied by Hardy from *The Gentleman's Magazine*:

> Gents. Mag. 1806.
> Royal progress to Wey:th 1805 pp. 40– & 165. . . . About 11 the Royal Family went on board the yacht. In the evening all were in the greatest anxiety for their safety till 10 o'clock. Their Majesties had commanded the Rivals. At 7 the Theatre was filled; & by half past 7 the audience began to express considerable anxiety to know the cause of their non arrival; when Mr. Hughes informed them that the Royal Family had not returned from their cruise; & as the yacht did not appear in sight he offered to proceed with the play; but this was opposed by the audience. The Manager repeated this offer but the audience would wait.

[1] Pt. I. I. i, p. 11.

[2] First Half, p. 11. The oath 'dash my wig' also appears in *The Dynasts*, notably as a favourite oath of the Prince of Wales; and it is in this form that the oath appears in *The Trumpet-Major*. The novel was first printed as a serial in *Good Words* (January–December 1880), and R. L. Purdy quotes from a letter written by Hardy to Sidney Smith in 1925, in which Hardy declares that the editor requested that swear-words should be avoided in the novel. Hardy acquiesced in this and one other demand of the editor, but declares that he restored his own readings when the novel came out as a book (Purdy, pp. 32–33). Nevertheless, in *The Trumpet-Major* the transcription of the oath is not as literal as in the example above from *The Dynasts*.

[3] Pt. I. II. iv, p. 47.

It being 10 when they landed their Majesties sent to inform the Manager that they should not attend. This being communicated the play began & it was midnight before the curtain dropped.[1]

Comparison of the two extracts shows that only the salient facts from the notebook appear in the passage in *The Dynasts*, and these facts are rendered credible as conversation in Hardy's dialogue by his vagueness and his use of homely phrase. 'All were in the greatest anxiety' is reflected in 'everybody was fairly gallied'; for the exactness of time in the journalist's report, Hardy substitutes 'time passed and it got dark' and a casual reference to 'eight or nine o'clock'; and the man who is speaking is out of touch with the details of the incident and cannot round off and finish the story because he does not know when the King and his family landed from their cruise.

It is a humdrum little statement that tends to slip away from the reader's consciousness, being preceded and followed by other small gossipy anecdotes and not of itself telling us very much about the King. Yet, if it is to be remembered at all, it must be remembered for its own sake as a fact. For it is the peculiar quality of *The Dynasts* to be at one and the same time very vague in its effect on the reader and very compact of facts in the writing. And when Hardy transforms these facts with something of his own imaginative awareness, he retains their factual accuracy while introducing a quality of vagueness that causes them to slip away into the atmosphere of the whole.

The effect of Hardy's use of factual material in *The Trumpet-Major* is, in many ways, in direct contrast to this. There are some facts in the notebook concerning the trumpet-major which appear only in the novel, and not in *The Dynasts*. They are taken, to copy Hardy's heading, from 'Standing orders 1795—Queens Dragoon Gds', and those used in *The Trumpet-Major* are from the following extracts in the notebook:

He is to rank in the reg^{t}. as a Serg^{t}. & he has an extra allowance of 6 guineas a year in conseq.ce of his appointmt.[2]

He must exert over the tr^{rs} a full authority & if any one behaves tow^{ds} him with the least impropriety or neglects his orders—he must confine . . . report to adjutant &c.-[3]

On no account to drink with a Tr. but to associate with the Serg^{ts}.[4]

Hardy weaves these facts into a conversation between Anne Garland and John Loveday:

'Shall we go on to where my mother is?' said Anne, less impressed by the beauty of the note than the trumpet-major himself was.

[1] Second Half, pp. 25–(26). [2] First Half, p. (54). [3] Ibid., p. 55.
[4] Ibid. See Evelyn Hardy, *Critical Biography*, p. 173 n. Miss Hardy notes that Hardy copied details concerning trumpeters and trumpet-majors into the notebook.

'In one minute,' he said tremulously. 'Talking of music—I fear you don't think the rank of a trumpet-major much to compare with your own?'

'I do. I think a trumpet-major a very respectable man.'

'I am glad to hear you say that. It is given out by the King's command that trumpet-majors are to be considered respectable.'

'Indeed! Then I am, by chance, more loyal than I thought for.'

'I get a good deal a year extra to the trumpeters, because of my position.'

'That's very nice.'

'And I am not supposed ever to drink with the trumpeters who serve beneath me.'

'Naturally.'

'And by the orders of the War Office, I am to exert over them (that's the government word) exert over them full authority; and if anyone behaves towards me with the least impropriety, or neglects my orders, he is to be confined and reported.'

'It is really a dignified post,' she said, with, however, a reserve of enthusiasm which was not altogether encouraging.[1]

In this passage Hardy makes a fairly close paraphrase of his source material, with a nearly literal transcription of such phrases as 'He must exert over the tr^ps a full authority' and 'if any one behaves tow^ds him with the least impropriety or neglects his orders'; but the material is woven, at some length, into a conversation that gives the impression of being between two people caught up in a lifelike situation that promises to have some influence upon their future destiny in the narrative. The facts are, as it were, taken slowly. In comparison, the material used in the examples we have so far taken from *The Dynasts* seems to have been taken somewhat more literally, and to have been quickly noted down.

III

It may be argued that differences between *The Trumpet-Major* and *The Dynasts* are too obvious to admit of any very deep probing for their own sake, and in general this is probably true. Nevertheless, a comparison of Hardy's use of the same material in both works throws light upon some critical problems, particularly in relation to *The Dynasts*; and I therefore wish to compare passages in the novel and the epic-drama that are based upon the same facts in the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook'.

My first examples are intended to show that in *The Dynasts* Hardy uses facts from the notebook in a more direct, more literal way than he uses them in *The Trumpet-Major*. First, there is the brief reference in both works to

[1] *The Trumpet-Major*, ch. xi. Quotations from *The Trumpet-Major* are from The Wessex Novels, vol. ix (London, 1925).

Captain Hardy waiting to see the King at Weymouth. The source of the reference, as given in the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook', is:

> Morning Chronicle. Sept. 5. 1805.
> 'Weymouth, Sept. 3 . . . Capt. Hardy, Ld. Nelson's Captain, was waiting the return of his majesty . . . & had a long convers:n with him. . . .'[1]

In *The Dynasts* Hardy's transcription of this is almost literal and just as brief as in the notebook. The King says to Pitt,

> Lord Nelson's Captain—Hardy—whose old home
> Stands in a peaceful vale hard by us here—
> Who came two weeks ago to see his friends,
> I talked to in this room a lengthy while.[2]

In *The Trumpet-Major* the reporting of this incident is more indirect, and it seems more vivid and more lively. Hardy has added a description of the Admiral's personal appearance, and this alone makes him a more compelling figure:

> . . . a number of people had gathered before the King's residence, where a brown curricle had stopped, out of which stepped a hale man in the prime of life, wearing a blue uniform, gilt epaulettes, cocked hat, and sword, who crossed the pavement and went in. Bob went up and joined the group. 'What's going on?' he said.
> 'Captain Hardy,' replied a bystander.
> 'What of him?'
> 'Just gone in—waiting to see the King.'[3]

A more complex example concerns the fear of the authorities that the King, while at Weymouth, may be in danger of being captured by the French. The entry in the notebook is taken from *The Morning Chronicle*:

> Sept. 12—At Wey[th] the most strict military vigilance is exerted to guard the Royal residents. Not only the frigates & other armed vessels are every night posted in a line across the mouth of the harbour (bay), but two lines of centinels, one at the water's edge & another behind the Espland occupy the whole harbour (bay) after 8 every night. The King's guard mounts every night round Gloucester Lodge, & outlying pickets are so stationed on the hills around the town as to command the harbour. There is besides a battery of 6 24 pounders on the point of the Mole (Nothe? which commands the entrance, & a camp of flying artillery on the opposite shore, consisting of twelve 6 pounders & several howitzers. Added to this a camp of four thousand men horse & foot within a few minutes march. ib. Sept. 14.[4]

In *The Dynasts* a spectator at the review declares:

> 'Twould be no such joke to kidnap 'em as you think. Look at the frigates down there. Every night they are drawn up in a line across the mouth of the

[1] First Half, p. 7.
[2] Pt. I. IV. i, p. 65.
[3] *The Trumpet-Major*, ch. xxxiii.
[4] First Half, pp. 15–(16).

Bay, almost touching each other; and ashore a double line of sentinels, well primed with beer and ammunition, one at the water's edge, and the other on the Esplanade, stretch along the whole front. Then close to the Lodge a guard is mounted after eight o'clock; there be pickets on all the hills; at the Harbour mouth is a battery of twenty four-pounders; and over-right 'em a dozen six-pounders, and several howitzers. And next look at the size of the camp of horse and foot up here.[1]

In this passage Hardy has added only the somewhat heavy humorous touch of the sentinels being 'well primed with beer and ammunition', and for the rest he is content to follow the details of *The Morning Chronicle's* report fully and accurately, in regard to both the time of day and the number and kinds of armaments. He succeeds in making us aware of the facts as such.

In *The Trumpet-Major* these details from the notebook form part of the background of Anne Garland's evening visit to Weymouth, and they are used in an indirect fashion so that they may be integrated into the narrative. On this particular evening:

The popular Georgian watering-place was in a paroxysm of gaiety. The town was quite overpowered by the country round, much to the town's delight and profit. The fear of invasion was such that six frigates lay in the roads to ensure the safety of the royal family, and from the regiments of horse and foot quartered at the barracks, or encamped on the hills round about, a picket of a thousand men mounted guard every day in front of Gloucester Lodge, where the King resided. When Anne and her attendant reached this point, which they did on foot, stabling the horse on the outskirts of the town, it was about six o'clock. The King was on the Esplanade, and the soldiers were just marching past to mount guard. The band formed in front of the King, and all the officers saluted as they went by.

Anne now felt herself close to and looking into the stream of recorded history, within whose banks the littlest things are great, and outside which she and the general bulk of the human race were content to live on as an unreckoned, unheeded superfluity.

When she turned from her interested gaze at this scene, there stood John Loveday. She had had a presentiment that he would turn up in this mysterious way. It was marvellous that he could have got there so quickly; but there he was—not looking at the King, or at the crowd, but waiting for the turn of her head.

'Trumpet-major, I didn't see you,' said Anne demurely. 'How is it that your regiment is not marching past?'

'We take it by turns, and it is not our turn,' said Loveday.[2]

I include a good deal of Hardy's setting of the facts from the newspaper account in order to show the place of the facts in the narrative as a whole. He uses them to emphasize the gaiety of the town in which Anne is to em-

[1] Pt. I. II. iv, p. 47.

[2] *The Trumpet-Major*, ch. xiii.

bark upon an evening's pleasure and, while omitting some of the details of numbers and kinds of armaments and troops, he stresses the royal aspect of the matter, borrowing a detail from the *Adventures and Recollections of Colonel Landmann* to give colour to the humanity and graciousness of the King. The detail is the small touch of the King going out to see the guard mounted and the officers saluting him as they pass, which is derived from the following note:

> The King convenitly dined at 3. In order that he might be on the Esp. at 6 in readiness to receive the salutes of the officers as they marched past when mounting picquet.[1]

Hardy notes Anne's insignificance in the face of these trappings of history, he causes John Loveday to appear so suddenly as to partake of some of the mystery of the whole, and then he brings us back to the facts when John tells her that if it were the turn of his regiment he himself would be marching past to guard the King.

In a description of this kind the historical details do not appear to be of importance for their own sake: their function is to provide a necessary background to an event in the story; and, in writing this passage, Hardy not only rejects some of the details he has copied into his notebook, he also takes the material very slowly. The facts are subordinated to the requirements of both the narrative and its readers. He pauses, for instance, to tell us that Gloucester Lodge is where the King resides; but, in contrast to this, the corresponding passage in *The Dynasts* might be about any building in the town.

In *The Dynasts* there is often very little setting for the separate historical facts; they tend to be exhibited as it were on one level, and are put down in lyric song, verse dialogue, or descriptive prose as Hardy requires at any moment to unfold the historical scene to his readers. There are pages in the work in which the numerous facts and anecdotes suggest a catalogue or list. This anecdote of the measures taken to guard the King is recounted in *The Dynasts* as one of a string of observations made by the gossiping spectators at the review. These spectators are merely voices, without names or personal identity, and on the same page their conversation enables us to read of the Queen's red cloak, the incident of the non-arrival at the theatre, the games seen by the King at Weymouth, and just to begin, before we turn over, to read of the York Hussars and something of the sad story that appears elsewhere as the tale of *The Melancholy Hussar*. As we read *The Dynasts* we must listen to innumerable small pieces of information about peoples and wars; the Phantom Intelligences

[1] First Half, p. (46). I have some difficulty in deciphering the abbreviation, presumably an abbreviation for 'conveniently', which I have transcribed as 'convenitly'. Hardy's note is taken from Landmann, ii. 304.

are specially gifted to observe and describe, and it is the function of the reader to listen to what they say as they see the scene unfolding before them. But the reader must catch any small piece of information at the time at which it is given because, except in rare instances, each factual detail in *The Dynasts* is mentioned on one occasion only and we do not hear of it again. In *The Trumpet-Major* Hardy weaves small details into the narrative, and many of them appear in more than one descriptive passage as they are spoken of or noticed in different circumstances by different characters in the tale.

An example of this kind of contrasted technique is the detail of the Queen's cream-coloured Hanoverian horses. In *The Dynasts* it is reported in the description of the coming of the royal family to the military review:

> In a coach drawn by six cream-coloured Hanoverian horses Queen Charlotte sits with three Princesses; in another carriage with four horses are two more Princesses.[1]

This follows a note Hardy makes from a report in *The Morning Post*:

> *Morning Post:* 1805
> Weyth. July 14—H.M. inspected camp. . . . Her M & 3 of the Pc^{sses} went in a coach drawn by 6 cream cold. horses, & the other 2 Pc^{sses} in another drawn by 4. . . .[2]

In *The Trumpet-Major* the horses are noticed by the crowd at the review in a descriptive passage that is very similar to that in *The Dynasts*:

> Then the Queen and three of the princesses entered the field in a great coach drawn by six beautiful cream-coloured horses. Another coach, with four horses of the same sort, brought the two remaining princesses.[3]

But later in the story they appear again as a small part of the lives of the people of Weymouth. When Anne Garland and the Loveday brothers have finished watching the games on the sands,

> . . . they returned to Gloucester Lodge, whence the King and other members of his family now reappeared, and drove, at a slow trot, round to the theatre in carriages drawn by the Hanoverian white horses that were so well known in the town at this date.[4]

Another example is in Hardy's references to the sports and games held at Weymouth during the King's residence. In *The Trumpet-Major* references to the games are woven into the narrative. Bob Loveday mentions them to Matilda Johnson when he is seeking to impress her with the social delights of the town;[5] Festus Derriman assumes that such pastimes as grinning-matches at Mai-dun Castle will have to give way to more military matters when the French invasion comes;[6] and Hardy describes Anne

[1] Pt. I. II. iv, p. 46.
[2] First Half, p. 29.
[3] *The Trumpet-Major*, ch. xii.
[4] Ibid., ch. xxx.
[5] Ibid., ch. xvi.
[6] Ibid., ch. xxvi.

Garland and the Loveday brothers watching a single-stick combat on the sands before going to see Mr. Bannister at the Weymouth theatre.[1] The entry in the notebook concerning the games consists of notes made from accounts in *The Morning Chronicle*:

Sept. 29 Weyth.

Combats at single-stick for several prizes on a stage in front of Mrs. Buxton's house tomorrow. Much sport is expected—£4. for him who breaks most heads. Milton Abbey—the Messenger arrives with Despatches for H.M. to sign.

30th. King returns to Weyth sees sports.

Oct. 1. Details of single stick &c. In Mrs. B's field. ib. Oct. 3[2]

Hardy has two references to these games in *The Dynasts*. One, when the King mentions them in a conversation with Pitt, reproduces some of the details from the notebook. The King says,

At six o'clock this evening there are to be combats at single-stick to amuse the folk; four guineas the prize for the man who breaks most heads. Afterwards there is to be a grinning match through horse-collars—a very humorous sport which I must stay here and witness; for I am interested in whatever entertains my subjects.[3]

The other is interesting because Hardy not only describes something of the games, but hurries along to put in the next item as well. One of the spectators at the review is wondering what might happen if the King were kidnapped by the French, and he concludes by telling us of single-stick combats, documents and all. He says,

Lard, Lard, if 'a were nabbed, it wouldn't make a deal of difference! We should have nobody to zing to, and play single-stick to, and grin at through horse-collars, that's true. And nobody to sign our few documents. But we should rub along some way, goodnow.[4]

Even though these facts are referred to twice in *The Dynasts*, they are very isolated; and the last example I wish to give is of Hardy's use of an anecdote recorded in 'The Trumpet-Major Notebook' and referred to in *The Dynasts*, but not in *The Trumpet-Major*. It is the story of the York Hussars, and with its air of melancholy loneliness it is merely reported in *The Dynasts*. Again, it is a spectator at the review who comments:

The troopers now passing are the York Hussars—foreigners to a man, except the officers—the same regiment the two young Germans belonged to who were shot here four years ago.[5]

[1] *The Trumpet-Major*, ch. xxx. In this reference to the games the prize awarded to the most successful breaker of heads is five guineas, not four; and thus, in respect of this small fact, the account in *The Dynasts* is more faithful to the notebook.

[2] First Half, p. (10). The name I have transcribed as 'Buxton' could be taken to read 'Brixton'.

[3] Pt. I. IV. i, p. 67.

[4] Pt. I. II. iv, p. 47.

[5] Pt. I. II. iv, pp. 47–48.

Hardy's note of this incident in the notebook is taken from a detailed account in *The Morning Chronicle* of the execution of these men; details which are reproduced in his story, *The Melancholy Hussar*. The note is:

> . . . Morning Chron. July 4. 1801.
> (Tuesday? Tu. was chief market day. W. Guide).
> 'On Wedny morning two privates (private & corporal)—of the York Hussars were shot on Bincombe Down, nr. W. pursuant to the sentence of a court martial, for desertion, & cutting a boat out of the harbour, with intent to go to France, but by mistake they landed at Guernsey, & were secured. All the regts both in camp & barracks, were drawn up, viz The Scotch Greys, the Rifle Corps, The Stafford, Berks, & N. Devon Militia. They came on the ground in a mourning coach, attended by 2 priests; after marching along in front of the line they returned to the centre, where they spent about 20 minutes in prayer, & were shot at by a guard of 24 men; they dropped instantly, & expired without a groan. The men wheeled in sections, & marched by the bodies in slow time.
> ib-1[1]

In *The Trumpet-Major*, in which, as we have noted, this story does not appear, the foreign soldiers, men of colourful fascination, are a symbol of the loneliness and cruelty brought by war. They are,

> . . . young men with a look of sadness on their faces, as if they did not much like serving so far from home.[2]

Anne Garland, who misses her lover when he too is abroad, is 'filled with a sense of her own loneliness' when she sees other village girls in the company of 'the thrilling York Hussars';[3] and the York Hussars, the Hanoverian regiment, is the most frequently mentioned of all the regiments encamped around Overcombe.

IV

I have not attempted a complete account of Hardy's use of material from the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook' in his various works, although, as far as I am able to ascertain, my observations cover his use of it in *The Dynasts*. Nor would I claim that I have done more than indicate that a survey of the use of the material from the notebook provides an interesting practical illustration of Hardy's attitude to historical fact in two of his works.

In the preface to *The Trumpet-Major*, Hardy declares that he uses his source material as a kind of discipline, in an attempt to 'construct a coherent narrative of past times'[4] in a tale founded on oral and written testimony;

[1] First Half, pp. 13–(14). There is a mark, a cross in red crayon pencil, beside this entry in the notebook. In the Preface to the 1896 edition of *Life's Little Ironies* Hardy writes of local legends and reminiscences of persons known to him which were the source of this tale; and this is endorsed by critics and biographers, e.g. Clive Holland, *Thomas Hardy O.M.* (London, 1933), p. 88. But this extract from the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook' shows that in writing the story Hardy also uses material from his library researches.

[2] *The Trumpet-Major*, ch. iv. [3] Ibid., ch. x. [4] Preface, p. vi.

but, in the preface to *The Dynasts*, he tells us that the historical material, put down as historical fact, is an essential part of the whole. He claims that in his epic-drama he maintains 'at least a tolerable fidelity to the facts of its date as they are given in ordinary records', and goes on to say that in dealing with his material, he has aimed at 'as close a paraphrase . . . as was compatible with the form chosen'.[1] We have noticed the close factual texture of *The Dynasts* and the literalness of much of Hardy's transcription of the material from the notebook in the writing of certain passages in this work.

We have also noticed a certain quality of vagueness in *The Dynasts* in which, as Hardy explains, 'no attempt has been made to create that completely organic structure of action, and closely-webbed development of character and motive, which are demanded in a drama strictly self-contained'.[2] The historical facts in *The Dynasts* follow one another in simple succession.

Lastly, we have remarked upon the speed with which Hardy races from fact to fact in the writing of *The Dynasts*.[3] Among the last notes he makes of his plans for writing it is a reference to 'Europe in Throes', which Mrs. Hardy says he once regarded as a provisional title for the work,[4] and a sense of flux and movement pervades the whole. *The Dynasts* is 'a panoramic show'[5] that is made up, not of narrative in the ordinary sense, but of a quick succession of events revealed to the reader as illustrations of a theme, events that race quickly one after the other to provide the historical atmosphere necessary to give realism to a body of abstract notions that form the ever-changing, ever-moving burden of the Spirits' song.

Hardy says that his epic-drama is 'a series of historical "ordinates" (to use a term in geometry)'.[6] This being so, he needs to transform the historical facts as little as possible, and by presenting them in hurrying jostling multitudes he ensures that they do not stay long in the reader's memory. Yet, paradoxically enough, the historical facts in *The Dynasts* intrude insistently upon the reader's consciousness, as their ceaseless coming and going contributes to an air of 'poesy and dream'[7] in which the course of history itself becomes at last inseparable from the mindless agitation of

> . . . the pulsion of the Byss,
> Which thinking on, yet weighing not Its thought,
> Unchecks Its clock-like laws.[8]

[1] Preface, p. viii. [2] Preface, p. ix.
[3] See J. G. Southworth, *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy* (New York, 1947), p. 211, for a recent criticism of the speed with which Hardy writes of persons and events in *The Dynasts*.
[4] *The Later Years*, pp. 56–57. [5] Preface, p. ix.
[6] Ibid. [7] Ibid., p. xi. [8] Fore Scene, p. 1.

NOTES

FOUR ANGLO-SAXON COMPOUNDS

THE tenth-century Northumbrian gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (Lind.) contains four compounds which are not recorded in Bosworth-Toller: *all-efne*, *fifteig-dæg*, *hwit-corn*, *larcnæht*. Of these, *hwit-corn* is a marginal gloss, and *fifteig-dæg* and *larcnæht* appear in the obscure Introductions which the Rushworth Gospels omit. None of these three occurs outside Lind.; *all-efne* appears again in the corresponding passage of Rushworth.

In discussing each compound, I indicate its usage in OE., giving synonyms, and trace its later development as far as possible. References are to W. W. Skeat, *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions* (Cambridge, 1871–87). In the quotations which follow, the four words and their lemmas are italicized. Translations are of the Latin text. For references to the synonyms see Bosworth-Toller (B.T.).

all-efne adj. or adv.

Luke xxiii. 18: of(er) clioppade ða ætgædre *all efne* þ(æt) folc—Exclamauit autem simul *uniuersa* turba 'The whole crowd however cried out together'. Rushworth *alefne*.[1]

Elsewhere in Lind. *uniuersus* is translated by *all*, in the WS. Gospels by *eall*.

It is not clear whether *all-efne* is an adj. qualifying *þ(æt) folc*[2] and cognate with ON. *al-jafn* adj. 'quite equal', or an adv. 'universally, with one voice'.

The word is not recorded in ME., but attention may be drawn to the crux *allevin* in the following passage from the Bannatyne Manuscript of Dunbar's 'ffollowis how du(m)bar wes desyrd to be ane freir':

> In haly legendis haif I hard allevin
> Ma sanctis of bischoppis Nor freiris be sic sevin[3]
> (Maitland Folio, MS. Reidpeth v.r. *herd ellevin*)[4]

'In holy legends I have heard *allevin* [that there are] seven times more saints from among bishops than from among friars.'

[1] E. Lye, *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* (London, 1772), s.v. *alefne*. Lind. reading omitted.

[2] So H. C. A. Carpenter, *Die Deklination in der Nordhumbrischen Evangelienübersetzung der Lindisfarner Handschrift* (Bonn, 1910), § 485 c.

[3] W. Tod Ritchie, *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (Edinburgh, 1928–34), ii. 306, ll. 21–22.

[4] W. A. Craigie, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript* (Edinburgh, 1919–27), i. 404, l. 16; ii. 126.

allevin has been interpreted as a past part. of OE. or OFr. origin, or a numeral adj., but none of these interpretations is entirely satisfactory.

J. Jamieson's suggestion that *allevin* is a past part. 'allowed, admitted' from OE. *alēfan*[1] would be acceptable only if the weak verb *alēfan* were assumed to have developed a strong past part. by analogy with the strong forms of *gelēfan* 'to allow', which existed in tenth-century Nb. beside the regular weak forms.[2]

H. B. Baildon's suggestion that the word might be derived from OFr., which might give a meaning 'allow, admit',[3] is open to a similar objection. *O.E.D.* s.v. *Alleve* (Fr. *aléver*), 'To relieve, alleviate' quotes only *aleived* past part. (*a* 1546). If *allevin* were derived from *aléver*, a meaning 'raised, honoured' would give better sense.

Sir William Craigie, *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (*D.O.S.T.*), quotes *allevin* in this passage s.v. *alevin* num. 'eleven' (*a*). *Allevin* is a M.Scots form of Nb. *ællefne* num. The identical form survives in the Bannatyne Manuscript of Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*[4] beside the more usual *alewin*. But in Dunbar's works the form of the numeral is *ellevin*, and a meaning 'eleven holy legends' is unsatisfactory.

Form and sense are better if *allevin* is derived from Nb. *all-efne* adj. or adv. If *allevin* is taken as an adj. separated from its noun *legendis* to rhyme with *sevin*, the interpretation is 'In all the holy legends . . .'. But the sentence construction suggests rather an adv., giving the sense 'In holy legends I have heard without exception . . .'.

The variant reading *ellevin* in the Maitland Folio and MS. Reidpeth (undoubtedly copied from the Folio) is not a strong argument against this derivation. The Maitland Folio was the work of several amanuenses, and it is not improbable that an amanuensis confused the rare and probably provincial *allevin* (Nb. *allefne*) with *allevin* (Nb. *ællefne*) and wrote *ellevin* 'eleven'.

If *all-efne* is adjectival and Dunbar's *allevin* adverbial, we must assume either the existence of *all-efne* both adj. and adv., or an extension of usage in M.Scots.[5]

[1] *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (Edinburgh, 1808), s.v. *allevin* past part. J. Pinkerton, *Ancient Scotish Poems* (London, 1786), p. 536, had suggested 'allowed'. J. Schipper, *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Wien, 1892), pt. iii. 42, while suggesting that *allevin* might be an interjection *all + even* (Ger. *alleben*), inclined, from the sentence construction, to accept Jamieson's view. J. W. Baxter, *William Dunbar* (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 27, translated *allevin* 'stated'. But Jamieson's view has been questioned in editions by J. Small (Edinburgh, 1893), H. B. Baildon (Cambridge, 1907), W. M. Mackenzie (Edinburgh, 1932). See glossaries s.v.

[2] B.T. s.v. *gelīfen* adj., *gelīfan* vb. 1.

[3] *On the rimes in the authentic poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh, 1899), § 65.

[4] Ed. Ritchie, iii. 87, l. 16. Not in *O.E.D.*, *D.O.S.T.*

[5] *all-efne* may throw light on *ellevyn* in Dunbar's 'Ane Ballat of our Lady' in Craigie, *The Asloan Manuscript*, ii (Edinburgh, 1925), 277, ll. 57–60: 'Aue maria gracia plena/ With

fifteig-dæg noun[1]

dat. sg. Mark Intro. 5, 16: æft(er) *fifteig dæg* fæst(er)n wodnes doege doeghwæmlice—Post *penticosten* in ieiuniu(m) feria. iiii. cottidiana. 'The daily portion for the Ember Wednesday after Pentecost' (lit. 'the fiftieth [day]').

Pentecost 'the fiftieth [day]' as distinct from 'the whole period of fifty days' is expressed in OE. by *Pentecoste* alone (Chron. MS. E anno 626), or in combination: *Pentecostenes dæg* (Chron. MS. A anno 973), *þy halgan dæge æt Pentecosten* (OE. Bede), *pentecostenes mæsse dæg* (WS. Gospels, John xiv. 23), *on Hwitan Sunnan dæg* (Chron. MS. D anno 1067. B.T. s.v. *hwīt* III).

The Lind. gloss *Penticosten-fifteig dæg* has a parallel in *Pentecosten-quinquaginta dies*, an Augiensis gloss on Acts xx. 16[2] 'ut diem Pentecosten faceret Hierosolymis'. The ultimate source of the Lind. interpretation was probably a Biblical gloss of this kind. But one would expect *quinquagesima(us) dies* and *fiftigoþa dæg*. The cardinal numerals *quinquaginta* and *fifteig* apparently function as ordinals. It is possible that *quinquaginta dies* is a pl. 'fifty days' incorrectly glossing *Pentecosten* 'fiftieth day', and that *fifteig dæg* arose from taking the pl. *quinquaginta dies* as a sg. But this interpretation, while it may appear to fit this particular case, does not explain other OE. usages of the cardinal as ordinal, e.g. 'ær þam *fiftigan* sealmeante psalmum *quinquagesimum*' (OE. Rule of Chrodegang), 'on þone *feowertegan* dæg ofer midne winter' (Chron. MS. A anno 763), cf. 'on ðon .xl. dæg ofer mide winter' (Chron. MSS. BCDEF), 'We sceolon þone *fiftigan* sealm syngan oððe þone .xxiiii.' (OE. Capitula of Theodulf). The last two examples indicate that the use of the cardinal as ordinal, both here and in Lind., arose from writing out abbreviated numerals in full. When the cardinal is uncompounded, qualifies a noun, and is preceded by the definite article, it adopts the weak inflexion characteristic of ordinals.

fifteig-dæg 'fiftieth day' survives only in Abbot Kennedy's *Ane compendius Tractiue* (1558) 'the *fyftiday*, callit in our language *Wytsounday*'.[3] Further examples of this idiomatic usage are *thirtyday* 'the commemoration of a deceased person the *thirtieth day* after his death' recorded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[4] *Twelf day* 'the *twelfth day* after the Nativity'

loving(is) lowde ellevyñ/ Quhill store & hore my ȝouth devor(e)/ Thy name I sall ay nevyne', rhyming also with *sevyne*, *hevyñ*, *stevyne*, *evyne*. Small in the glossary suggests '*Ellevyn*, extolled, Fr. *éléver*' (past part. should be weak), 'or perhaps *eleven*' (meaning unsatisfactory). Assuming that an original reading *allevyn* (Nb. *all-efne*) was mistakenly copied *ellevyn*, the interpretation 'Hail Mary, full of grace, with universally loud praises . . .' is possible.

[1] With *fifteig* cf. *fifteih*, Luke vii. 41, and see Carpenter § 628. Lind. normally has *fiftig*.

[2] A. Labhardt, *Glossarium Biblicum Codicis Augiensis* CCXLVIII (Neuchâtel, 1948), p. 62, 2300.

[3] *D.O.S.T.* s.v. *fifty* 2.

[4] *O.E.D.* s.v. *Thirty-day*.

current during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[1] and *Twelf|Twelve-Eve*, *Twelfe night*, *Twelf|Twelvetide*.[2]

Between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, side by side with the distinctive ordinal forms descended from OE., uncompounded cardinals, e.g. *five*, *eleven*, *twelve*, *fourteen*, *fifteen*, *twenty*, *thirty*, *forty*, *fifty* are similarly used when the sense requires an ordinal.[3] My suggestion as to the origin of this usage is supported by the fact that these cardinals predominantly function as ordinals with the nouns *day*, *year*, *chapter*, *part*, *psalm*, *sermon*, where an abbreviated numeral was likely to occur.

Since the seventeenth century the ordinal form in *(e)th* has been in sole use, and the cardinal now functions as ordinal only when following the noun it qualifies. Scots dialect retains the cardinal in an ordinal function when preceding the noun as late as 1946.[4]

hwit-corn noun[5]

John vi. 31: fadero uel aldro usero gebréicon uel ge éton on uæstern—Patres nostri *manna(m)* manducauerunt in deserto. The marginal gloss to *manna(m)*, which is unglossed in the text, reads: heofuncund mett .i. *huit córn* sonu(u)ald. f(or) huætte cuom of heofnum 7 feoll on moisi mið his folce on ðam more ðer he uæs.[6] 'Heavenly food—that is round white grain—since[7] the wheat came from heaven and fell on Moses and his people in the wilderness where he was.'

In Rushworth *gibrecon* is written over *mannam*, which is not explained, and the marginal gloss is omitted. Elsewhere in Lind. *manna* is glossed by *þ(æt) fostrað*, *þ(æt) heofunlic met*, Rushworth, John vi. 58, *þ(æt) heofunlic met*, WS. Gospels *heofonlic mete*.

[1] *O.E.D.* s.v. *Twelfth-day*. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, vi (London, 1946), § 24. 4_1 states that in the combinations *twelfe day*, *twelfe night*, *twelfe* arises simply from elision of the medial consonant of the group. His comparison with *As You Like It*, iv. i. 46, 'the thousand [for thousandth] part of a minute' is not true, since, unlike *twelfe*, *thousand* had no distinctive ordinal form until the mid-sixteenth century.

[2] *O.E.D.* s.v. *Twelfth-even*, *Twelve* B. I. 3; *Twelfth-night*; *Twelfthtide*, *Twelve* B. III. Comb. J. O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (London, 5th edn., 1901), s.v. *Twelf-Tyde*. *Twelfe-night* is unconnected with OE. *twelf-nihte* adj.

[3] *O.E.D.* s.v. *Five* A. 4, *Eleventh* A. adj. 1 (1551), *Twelve* B. I. 3, *Twelfth* A. 1γ, *Fourteen* A. 3, *Fifteen* A. 3, *Twenty* A. adj. 3, *Thirty* A. 3, *Forty* A. adj. d, *Fifty* A. adj. c; *D.O.S.T.* s.v. *Five* 3, *Alevin* b, *Ellevin* 2 adj., *Fourtene* 2 adj., *Fiften* 2, *Chapter* n¹. (*b*), *Day* n¹. 4b, *Fourty* 2 adj. Further examples of the usage in E. Tietjens, *Englische Zahlwörter des 15/16 Jahrhunderts* (Lagensalza, 1922), § 101, and L. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (London, 1892), § 264.

[4] W. Grant, *The Scottish National Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1953), s.v. *Feifteen* 1 adj.

[5] Skeat, and A. S. Cook, *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels* (Halle, 1894), quote as compound. B.T. quotes as phrase s.v. *hwǽte* 2 (*b*).

[6] MS. reads: *met*, *húid corn* (indicating variants *húid|húit*; A. S. C. Ross, *Studies in the Accidence of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (Kendal, 1937), p. 6), *ðæm*.

[7] Early use of *for* conj. unrecorded in *O.E.D.* s.v. *for* B. conj. 2.

The Lindisfarne glossator's interpretation of *manna* as 'round white grain' is very likely based on the description of *manna* in Exodus xvi. 14, 'like unto the hoar frost on the ground'. His interpretation of *manna* as *wheat*—'f(or) *huætte* cuom of heofnum'—is probably ultimately derived from St. Jerome's 'Hebrew' Psalter lxvii. 24, 'et pluit super eos man ut comederent et triticum caeli dedit eis',[1] where *triticum* 'wheat' is parallel to and synonymous with *man* 'manna'.

It is possible that the glossator used *hwit-corn* in his context as a specific term for *wheat*, and that from it are derived *white corn*, recorded in three texts between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and *whitecorn* found in a N. Yorks. text of 1800 and surviving in nineteenth-century Lincs. and Notts. dialect[2] as specific terms for wheat, oats, and other grains which turn white or light-coloured in ripening.

larcnæht noun[3]

Luke Intro. 2, 2: lucas ðe syrisca . . . discipul uel *larcnæht* uel fostring ðara postolra—Lucas Syrus . . . *discipulus* apostolorum.

Elsewhere in Lind. *discipulus* is translated by *ambeht*, *discipul*, *embehtmonn*, *ðegn*, WS. Gospels *leornung-cniht*, Ælfric's Homilies *leorningman*, OE. Pastoral Care *cniht*.

The element *lār* has the rarer sense 'learning' here, and the compound with *cnæht* (WS. *cniht*)[4] means 'youth who learns, disciple'. Compounds with *lār* as the first element, while common in WS., are rare in tenth-century Nb., and in addition to *larcnæht*, only *lāreow* (*lār-þēow*) and *lār-dōm* (confined to the *Durham Ritual*)[5] occur.[6]

There is no evidence that *larcnæht* survived beyond OE. Since in ME. *cniht* lost the sense of 'youth, boy', *larcnæht* in Lind. may well have given place to *lare child* in *Cursor Mundi*.[7] BETTY HILL

[1] ed. J. M. Harden, *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* (London, 1922), p. 97.

[2] *O.E.D.* s.v. *White* adj. 2 (*b*). *E.D.D.* s.v. *White* 1. adj. In comb. (15).

[3] MS. reading. Skeat and Cook,-*cneht*. B.T. quotes only s.v. *fostring* II.

[4] Ross, 'Sex and Gender in the Lindisfarne Gospels', *J.E.G.P.*, xxxv (1936), 328–9.

[5] U. Lindelöf, *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc. cxl, 1927), p. 193, l. 15. Not in B.T.

[6] Conversely in ME., new *lār* compounds appear in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century N. texts and Ormulum (*O.E.D.* s.v. *Lore* sb[1]. 6 Comb.). Whether survivals from unrecorded OE. forms or new ME. formations, they were probably reinforced in the N. by ON. *læri-* forms, e.g. *larfaderr* (ON. *læri-faðir*) appears in N. texts up to 1684 and survives in nineteenth-century N. Country dialects (*O.E.D.* s.v. *Lear*[1] b. Comb., *Lore* sb.[1] 6. Comb. *E.D.D.* s.v. *Lair* sb.[3] 2. Comp. (1)), whereas, e.g., OE. *lārspell*, confined in ME. to non-N. texts, disappears after the fourteenth century (*O.E.D.* s.v. *Lorespell*, R. M. White and R. Holt, *The Ormulum* (Oxford, 1878), Glossary s.v. *larspell*). Change of meaning cannot account for its disappearance since *spell* 'story' does not develop other senses until 1579 (*O.E.D.* s.v. *Spell* sb.[1] 3).

[7] *O.E.D.* s.v. *Lore* sb.[1] 6. Comb.

AN ELEGY ON HENRY VII

A COMPLETE and contemporary elegy on the death of King Henry VII in 1509 has lately been found written in an ordinary monastic letter book, among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.[1] An incomplete version of the same poem was included by Dyce in his edition of Skelton,[2] but the elegy is now printed in full for the first time.

Its literary merit is no greater than might be expected of its time and subject. Abundant reference is made to Henry's power, glory, and riches; its tone is a pre-echo of Bacon's words: 'And thus this Salomon of England (for Salomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions) . . . passed to a better world . . . at his palace of Richmond which himself had built.'[3]

The text used by Dyce was that of a black-letter broadside in the Bodleian Library, Douce E.20.[4] On one side of this sheet the poem is set out in double columns, four eight-line stanzas on the left and three on the right. The left-hand edge of the sheet has been cut away; hence the missing words at the beginning of each line in the first four stanzas. The sheet was later folded in quarto and used as a proof; on the reverse are printed four pages of a 32-line edition in quarto of *Torente of Portyngale*. The printer of the elegy was Wynkyn de Worde; of *Torente* Richard Pynson. Only one other printed fragment of *Torente* is known; this is now bound up with the elegy in Douce E.20.[5]

The Durham version of the elegy, which differs from that in Douce E.20 only in completeness, in minor spelling details, and in two variant readings, is entered in *Registrum Parvum II* among a characteristic assortment of personal and official correspondence. The Register covers the years 1484–1535, and is a small folio volume of 215 parchment folios. Ff. 1–29^{v} cover the priorate of John Auckland, the remainder that of Thomas Castell.

The contents of the volume are not systematically arranged, but roughly by date, and are entered in a variety of cursive hands.[6] The elegy is included in a group of documents ranging from about September 1508 to September 1509, and apparently written up by one scribe (ff. 174–8^{v}). The next group, entered in another hand, runs from April 1510. As it seems from the text of the elegy (43 ff.) that Henry VIII was still uncrowned, the poem was presumably composed between 21 April 1509, when Henry VII

[1] We are grateful to the Chapter of Durham for access to the manuscript in their custody, and for permission to print from it.

[2] Alexander Dyce, *Poetical Works of John Skelton* (London, 1843), ii. 399–400.

[3] *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath (London, 1857–74), vi. 237.

[4] Our thanks are due to Miss Jean Robertson for information about the broadside.

[5] See *S.T.C.*, nos. 13075 and 24133; J. O. Halliwell, *Hand-List of the Douce Collection* (London, 1860), pp. 65, 140; idem, *Torrent of Portugal* (London, 1842), pp. 113 ff.

[6] See W. A. Pantin, 'English Monastic Letter Books', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 201–22.

died, and 24 June 1509, when Henry VIII was crowned. It must have been copied into the Register within a year at most, perhaps before the end of 1509.

Immediately before the elegy in the Register, the scribe copied an Accession Pardon of Henry VIII, dated 28 April 1509. Until 1911, only one copy of this was known, and that was a proclamation printed by Richard Pynson.[1] In 1911, when reconstructions were being made in the lodge of Christ's College, Cambridge, workmen found a patterned paper on the old beams; and when the paper was removed early printed material was found on the reverse. This included another and different version of the printed proclamation.[2] Thus there are now two printed proclamations giving the text of the Accession Pardon; they differ from each other in a number of details. There is also the written Durham copy of the Pardon, and this differs in details from both printed texts. The material from Christ's College also included fragments of another, quite different, elegy on the death of Henry VII; this elegy, it has been suggested, was the work of Stephen Hawes.[3]

Of course, there must be some relationships between the Durham, the Douce, and the Cambridge material, but the fragmentary nature of the documents makes it impossible to define them. So much early printed matter has been lost that conjecture here is more than usually hazardous.

Nevertheless it seems probable that the Durham copy of the pardon was derived from a printed proclamation, for a number of proclamations would be sent to the Bishop of Durham for local distribution.[4] Possibly these proclamations were printed by different printers: it has been suggested that Hugo Goes of York printed the Christ's College copy.[5] A printed copy of the elegy (different from the Douce broadside at a few points) could have reached Durham with the printed proclamations; then both pardon and elegy could have been copied into *Registrum Parvum II*. There seems, however, to be no way of verifying this guess.

A fact which may be relevant to the question of how the elegy reached Durham so promptly is that Thomas Ruthall, who had been secretary to Henry VII, became Bishop of Durham in June 1509. Through Ruthall, or some member of his entourage, the elegy may have been carried to Durham and copied there.[6]

[1] Robert Steele, *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns* (Bibliotheca Lindesiana v, Oxford, 1910), no. 54.

[2] *Cambridge Fragments* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 17–20. [3] Ibid., pp. 17 ff.

[4] Steele, op. cit., pp. cvi–xvii. The proclamations were sent by a messenger of the king's Exchequer, and in the reign of Charles I the bishops of Durham received fourteen copies.

[5] *Cambridge Fragments*, p. 13.

[6] On Ruthall see *D.N.B.*; J. D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 216, 232, &c.

The possibility that the verses were made in Durham seems remote; yet perhaps it should not be entirely ruled out. On the other hand there is strong similarity in style and tone to the known work of Stephen Hawes, especially to 'The Conversyon of Swerers' and 'A Joyfull Medytacyon'.[1] Of the known poets of the period, Hawes seems the most probable author; but the diction and thought of the elegy are so conventional that no firm conclusion can safely be drawn. There is no reason to attribute it to John Skelton.[2]

A transcription from the Register of the text of the elegy is given below. In the manuscript the opening of the initial stanzas is marked with a small *a* in the margin, and the rhymes are indicated by lines bracketing them together: these practices the scribe abandoned after the first page. The poem is copied throughout in a small bold cursive hand, with lines and words well spaced. It is sometimes impossible to distinguish between *n* and *u*. Abbreviations are few, and are expanded without comment.

O wauering Worlde all Wrapped in Wretchidnes
What auales thy pompes so gay and gloryous
Thy pastymes thy pleasors and all thy riches
Syth of necessitie they be but transsitoryous
Example but late o to moche pyteous
The puyssaunt prince that yche man Whilome dred
maugre thy myght by naturall lyne and cours
henry the seuenth alas alas lyeth dede
a O case Wonderfull so ryall a kyng
Surmountyng in maner the prudent Salamon
In Wysdome in Riches and in euerything
None to hym lyck in no cristen Region
Redoubted and fered not long agone
laudid and prased his name by fame spred
From Worldly content nowe destitute alone
for henry the seuenth alas alas lyeth dede
a lo marke we this mater we wretched creatures
For all his kyngdomes and trihumphaunt maiestie
For all his Joyes his pastymes and pleasures
he is now gone withouten remedie
The soule Where god will, the myserable bodie
Closed in stone and in heuy lede
O what is this worlde but vanyte and all vanyte
For henry the seuenth alas alas lyeth dede
a Come we therfor his subgeites and make lamentacion
For the losse of one so noble a gouernowre

[1] Reprinted for the Abbotsford Club, 1854, with a preface by David Laing.

[2] This was first proposed by Dr. Farmer, was endorsed by Douce, and was not condemned by Dyce, op. cit., p. 399, n. 1.

To god with oure prayers make we exclamacion
his soule forto guyde to his supernall toure
For faded is the goodly rose floure
That Whilome so rially all aboute spred
Dethe hath hym mated Wherre is his power
henry the viith alas alas lyeth dede
Of this most cristen kyng in vs it lieth not
his tyme passed honour sufficient to prayse
But yet though that that thing envalue we may not
Oure prayers of suertie he shall haue always
and though that atropose hath ended his days
his name and fame shall euer be dredd
as fer as phebus spredes his golden rayes
Though henry the viith alas alas lyeth dede
But now what remedye he is vncorable
Toucheyd by the hand of god that is most Juste
But yet agayne a cause most comffortable
We haue wherin of right reioys we muste
his sone on lyue in beaute force and lust
In honour lykely traianus to shede
Wherfore in hym put we oure hope and trust
Sith henry his fader alas alas lyeth dede
and now for conclusyon aboute his herse
let this be grauyd for endeles memorie
With sorofull tunes of thesyphenes verse
here lyeth the puyssaunt and mighty henry
hector in batayll vlyxes in polecy
Salamon in wysdome the noble rose rede
Creses in Richesse Iulius in glory
henry the viith ingraued here lyeth dede.

Variants in Douce: 41 *vncouerable;* 42 *handes.*

G. V. SCAMMELL
H. L. ROGERS

KING LEAR I. i. 170[1]

('To come betwixt our sentence/sentences and our power')

THE purpose of this note is to record an apparently unnoticed variant, and to suggest the correct reading. The editors record the 'folio' reading as

To come betwixt our sentences, and our power,

and this is the reading of the facsimiles edited by Staunton (1866), Halliwell-Phillipps (1876), Lee (1902), Dover Wilson (n.d.), and Kökeritz

[1] Line-numbering as Arden edition, 1952, ed. Muir (=F1 qq 2^{v}, col. b, l. 24).

(1954). But the Grey copy of F1, in the Auckland Public Library, has the line in the form:

To come betwixt our sentence, and our power,

and the spacing makes it quite clear that this is not simply a case where a letter has fallen out or failed to print. This page is in an uncorrected state in the Grey copy, as is shown by col. a, l. 6, where it reads

How, how *Cordelia*? mend your speec ah little,

in place of the corrected version

How, how *Cordelia*? Mend your speech a little,

The significant point is that 'sentence' in the singular is the reading of Q1, which has

To come betweene our sentence and our powre.

The copy for the folio in this play was a revised exemplar of Q1.[1] There is no obvious reason, stylistic or compositorial, for this change from singular to plural; indeed, one would expect, other things being equal, a change in the opposite direction, since the rhythm of the line is more regular in the uncorrected than the corrected state. One must suppose that in the copy of Q1 used in the printing-house the two words 'betweene' and 'sentence' had been corrected to 'betwixt' and 'sentences'; that the printer had observed the first and larger correction, but had missed the small addition of -s in the second; and that the folio corrector, running his eye down his copy, and pausing naturally on a line where there was a correction in his exemplar, picked up the change from singular to plural which his printer had missed.

It follows, therefore, that the true reading of the line should be 'sentences' in the plural, and that the preference for the quarto singular shown by so many recent editors (e.g. Duthie, Muir, Alexander, Sisson) should be abandoned.[2]

S. MUSGROVE

[1] The variant states of the quarto text do not come into the matter, since there are no variants on this sheet, B, of Q1.

[2] I do not follow out here the further implications of the uncorrected state of this page, beyond remarking that this example appears to differ from most of those recorded by Willoughby and Hinman in involving something more than a mere mechanical correction.

THE PREFACE TO *THE CENCI*

THERE is a striking similarity, which I have not seen noted, between an important sentence in Shelley's Preface to *The Cenci* and a passage of *The Republic* dealing with dramatic poetry. In the passage from *The Republic* Plato is explaining his objections to the poet and basing them on the demoralizing effect of the poet's representations. A good man, he says, afflicted with misfortune, such as the loss of a son or of anything else which is dear to him, will be aware of two contradictory impulses in his reactions. The lawful authority of reason will encourage him to resist his grief, but he will also wish to relieve his feelings by giving way. The impulse which directs him to obey reason is the higher, but the emotional impulse

> gives scope for a great diversity of dramatic representation; whereas the calm and wise character in its unvarying constancy is not easy to represent, nor when represented is it readily understood, especially by a promiscuous gathering in a theatre, since it is foreign to their own habit of mind. Obviously then, this steadfast disposition does not naturally attract the dramatic poet, and his skill is not designed to find favour with it. If he is to have a popular success, he must address himself to the fretful type with its rich variety of material for representation.[1]

Shelley's remarks on Beatrice contain a distinct echo of this passage. Shelley has been describing his own ideal of the calm and wise character: even in face of the most enormous injury, the reactions of revenge, retaliation, atonement, are pernicious mistakes. He goes on:

> If Beatrice had thought in this manner she would have been wiser and better; but she would never have been a tragic character: the few whom such an exhibition would have interested, could never have been sufficiently interested for a dramatic purpose, from the want of finding sympathy in their interest among the mass who surround them.

The ideas expressed in this sentence are obviously related to those in the passage quoted from *The Republic*. Reference to Plato, indeed, makes Shelley's meaning plainer and also illuminates what Shelley had in mind when he said: '*Cenci* is written for the multitude and ought to sell well'. Once his first excitement at the new venture of writing for the stage was passed, Shelley ceased to have much respect for *The Cenci*; and given his passion for reforming the world, together with Plato's moral judgement on stage drama, the reasons for his later attitude are obvious.

[1] *The Republic*, x. 602c–605c. In the foregoing summary I have used Cornford's translation (Oxford, 1942), pp. 326–9, and the quotation is from p. 329. This version makes the points especially clearly, and it is not necessary to use a translation which Shelley knew because he could read the Greek.

Though Shelley was clearly impressed by Plato's description of the material of stage drama and his assessment of its moral value, he did not make use of other material offered in the same passage. Plato starts from a discussion of inner conflict in the afflicted person, but this idea does not form the basis of dramatic conflict in *The Cenci*. Instead, Shelley states explicitly that it is *in the divided reactions of the audience*, as they contemplate with horror both Beatrice's wrongs and their revenge, that 'the dramatic character of what she did and suffered, consists'.

Three comments may be made: (i) recognition of the source of Shelley's comment on the material of stage drama makes it plain that though what Shelley says may look as though it is drawn from experience in the theatre it is, in fact, book-learning, not practical criticism; (ii) Shelley's rejection of the idea of inner conflict in the central character supports the view that in his poetry he was more interested in working out the consequences of attitudes to life than in the creation of individuals: the transfer of conflict from the tragic character to the audience is a piece of sleight of hand responsible for much of the adverse criticism of the play both in the study and on the stage; and (iii) it is unconvincing dramatic criticism which in one sentence derives a psychology of drama from Plato's doctrinaire account and in the next makes an extraordinary statement about the nature of dramatic conflict with no attempt to justify either idea or trace its implications.

JOAN REES

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR, *Review of English Studies*.

THE TEXT OF *PARADISE LOST*

Sir,

Professor B. A. Wright's review of Milton's *Poetical Works* (Clarendon Press, 1952 and 1955)[1] deserves examination. His indictment of my edition rests on two main charges: (1) that I prefer the first edition of *Paradise Lost* as nearer to Milton than the second; (2) that I do not pay enough attention to the prosody. On (1) I remain impenitent, after an intimacy of more than thirty years with copies of both editions. Two variant readings stand out as debatable: (*a*) at i. 530 fainted *Ed. 1*; fanting *Ed. 2*. I suggested 'fainted' as clearly right, and Mr. Wright agrees with me in his *Everyman* text; (*b*) at i. 703 founded *Ed. 1*; found out *E. 2*: he argues, with more metallurgical knowledge than I have, for 'found out'; I reluctantly accept the awkward 'found out' as a possible reading. (2) I have carefully paid attention, as will be seen throughout, to the metrical reading; but I would submit that in interpreting Milton's metre, original, free, and subtle as it is, the wariest approach is necessary. Mr. Wright makes a fruitful suggestion when he indicates special ways in which Milton may use punctuation as a guide

[1] *R.E.S.*, N.S. viii (1957), 78–94.

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THE TEXT OF *PARADISE LOST*

Sir,

Professor B. A. Wright's review of Milton's *Poetical Works* (Clarendon Press, 1952 and 1955)[1] deserves examination. His indictment of my edition rests on two main charges: (1) that I prefer the first edition of *Paradise Lost* as nearer to Milton than the second; (2) that I do not pay enough attention to the prosody. On (1) I remain impenitent, after an intimacy of more than thirty years with copies of both editions. Two variant readings stand out as debatable: (*a*) at i. 530 fainted *Ed. 1*; fanting *Ed. 2*. I suggested 'fainted' as clearly right, and Mr. Wright agrees with me in his *Everyman* text; (*b*) at i. 703 founded *Ed. 1*; found out *E. 2*: he argues, with more metallurgical knowledge than I have, for 'found out'; I reluctantly accept the awkward 'found out' as a possible reading. (2) I have carefully paid attention, as will be seen throughout, to the metrical reading; but I would submit that in interpreting Milton's metre, original, free, and subtle as it is, the wariest approach is necessary. Mr. Wright makes a fruitful suggestion when he indicates special ways in which Milton may use punctuation as a guide

[1] *R.E.S.*, N.S. viii (1957), 78–94.

to prosody; but I find his metrical system both too complicated and too inelastic, and his metrical elucidations often unacceptable. Thus he writes:

> There is one example of emphatic spelling at the end of a closed line that is to be explained differently:
>
> Neither had I transgrest, nor thou with mee. (ix. 1161)
>
> The normal speech stress is on *with*, which would result in a slighting of ***me***; the emphatic spelling is therefore needed to secure the stress on ***mee*** and to prevent what would otherwise be a bad line. (p. 91)

Is this a just comment on Milton's composition of a delicately right metrical line?

Mr. Wright misreads my statement about syllabic '***n***:

> the spelling with apostrophe, *as Miss Darbishire notes*, is comparatively infrequent in *Paradise Lost* [I have nowhere said this]; and that is because it is used only when the syllable is elided. (p. 89)

The truth is, as I have stated, that after voiceless consonants, and sometimes after voiced consonants, Milton prefers to use apostrophe before syllabic ***n*** to *denote the pronunciation of the indeterminate vowel* (e.g. *op'n*). In the following words, which occur in *Paradise Lost* once only, in each case the spelling with apostrophe denotes no elision but a metrical syllable: ***beat'n***, ***unfast'n***, ***shak'n***, ***heark'n***, ***reck'n***. Clinching proof that Milton used this spelling to indicate a full metrical syllable is in his *Sonnet to Fairfax* written in his own hand in the Trinity College manuscript:

> Thy firm ***unshak'n*** vertue ever brings (l. 5)
> her ***brok'n*** league, to impe their serpent wings (l. 8).

Mr. Wright continues:

> [Miss Darbishire] next mentions the elision of *the* before a vowel as a special case. Here she dives deeper and comes up muddier:
>
> > The general principle followed would appear to be: elide before an unstressed syllable and spell *th'*; spell *the* before a stressed syllable and do not elide. . . .

I do not acknowledge the depth or the mud. I gave examples:

> In every place in *Paradise Lost* I find ***th'eternal***, but ***the end; th'Empyreal*** (accent on second syllable) but ***the Empyréan*** (accent on first and third). (*Introd.*, p. xxvii)

Mr. Wright's examples, ***the Ocean*** (5), ***th' Ocean*** (2), &c., do not uphold his contention that 'the exceptions to her rule outnumber the positive examples of it', for if you add them up you find in his list twenty-three supporting examples and eight exceptions. He would have scored his point, and I should have agreed, if he had said that what I hardened into a principle I ought to have described as Milton's normal practice.

About emphatic and unemphatic spellings with and without final ***e*** I cannot follow Mr. Wright beyond the pronouns. He writes:

All the uses of the emphatic and unemphatic pronouns . . . could be illustrated over again from this large and miscellaneous lot of words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns), confirming my interpretation of those forms; but I will content myself with one particularly nice example . . . :

> Into this *wilde* Abyss,
> The Womb of Nature and perhaps her Grave,
> . . . . . .
> Into this *wild* Abyss the warie Fiend (ii. 910–17).

When the poet resumes his sentence after a parenthesis of six lines he naturally does not repeat the stress on 'wild'; this is a correction in the second edition, the first edition, followed by Miss Darbishire, giving *wilde* at both places. It is one of the many minute corrections that show how carefully the text was revised for the second edition. (p. 94)

I regard this not as a minute *correction* (it has no significance for either meaning or metre) but as the casual work of the printer. Of the twenty-nine appearances of the word in *Paradise Lost* Ed. 1, it is spelt *wilde* twenty-four times, *wild* five times; Ed. 2 deviates only in the one instance cited by Mr. Wright. *Wilde* is the normal spelling used by Milton, indicating the long vowel (his spelling of *milde* supports this): it is generally in the metrically stressed position, as here, and requires no further emphasis. The printer now and then spells *wild* inadvertently, and once at least for exigency of space (vi. 698). Every textual critic must allow for mistakes and accidents in the printing-house, and in a text of the seventeenth century must expect variations of spelling to be exploited by the printer in his job of spacing his lines.

To put my disagreement with Mr. Wright finally: I cannot endorse his statement that 'the punctuation and the spelling devices *are controlled entirely by prosodical considerations*' (p. 87). Milton's 'controlling consideration' is equally for sense and sound; and his system of spelling is no Procrustean bed: he likes elbow-room for amiable variations.

HELEN DARBISHIRE

REVIEWS

The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period. By F. M. STENTON. Pp. viii+103. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

This important book incorporates the substance of three lectures given by Sir Frank Stenton in 1954 in King's College, London. Small though it is, it covers much ground, and serves as a general introduction to the royal charters in Latin of the Anglo-Saxon period such as is not to be found elsewhere. We have here a brilliant study, lucidly presented and very readable, illustrated by close reference to the actual texts, by the most distinguished authority of our day in this field.

The royal charter (or diploma) written in Latin, which recorded royal grants of land or privilege or both, is generally supposed to have been introduced as an innovation into southern England in the days of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (668–90); it may well have reached Northumbria independently. Professor Stenton deals with 'the development of the charter from its origins in the private law of Imperial Rome into a legal instrument appropriate to the needs of Anglo-Saxon society'. Documents of this type (which are very numerous), drawn up according to a set form which in its outlines remains constant throughout the period, form an almost continuous series from the seventh century to the eleventh. Here the series is considered as a whole, and from the historical rather than the diplomatic standpoint, but much consideration is given to the difficult and complicated problems of authenticity.

The known facts of linguistic development can often be usefully combined with other kinds of evidence in an attempt to determine whether a charter is an authentic product of the period to which it purports to belong. A diplomatic argument for the genuineness of a charter can be reinforced by an early spelling of a personal name, as for example, *Æthil-*, later *Æthel-*, or *Coin-*, later *Cēn-*. A 'unique survival from the Migration Age' in the form of the personal name *Hȳthwalda*, 'plunder-lord' (spelt in the manuscript *Hyþ-*, *Hyth-*, and not *Hyw-*, with the letter 'wynn', as in the discussion on page 26), appears in the boundary clauses of a Berkshire charter of A.D. 801 in the name of a burial mound (*ad Hythwaldan hlau*). Sir Frank observes that this name had by the tenth century been contracted to *Hylda* or *Hilda*.

Among much else that is new, the light thrown by charter-study on Old English literary history is of particular interest. The decline of Latin scholarship in the religious houses 'before everything was ravaged and burnt' by the Danes, to which King Alfred refers in the Preface to the Old English rendering of the *Cura Pastoralis*, becomes real and actual when one observes the unmistakable collapse in latinity, of which Sir Frank gives some striking examples, which characterizes certain charters of the first half of the ninth century. The appearance in Wessex and in Mercia from the ninth century onwards of business memoranda written in Old English in narrative form, 'remarkable as pieces of free composition in

English prose', has been virtually ignored in studies of the development of Old English prose, though these documents have not been entirely neglected by students of Old English dialects.

The writer of this book quotes with approval and with a direct application to the present day an observation made nearly sixty years ago by W. H. Stevenson, the founder of the modern study of diplomatic: 'It cannot be said that the Old English charters have yet been edited.' Although most of the charters in the vernacular tongue have now been edited in modern editions, the editing of the Latin charters has scarcely begun. Reference to the Select Bibliography recently printed (p. 353) in *English Historical Documents*, vol. i (1955), by Dr. Dorothy Whitelock—who has included in her book in a Modern English rendering some forty royal charters in Latin—will show how unsystematic has been the editing of charters, and how scattered and often inaccessible is the criticism bearing on this subject. The work of editing the many hundreds of charters that remain would involve, as Sir Frank observes, not only the collection and annotation of scattered documents already accessible somewhere in print, but also of texts, of which he gives some particulars (p. 83), known to exist, but not yet published. It is much to be hoped that this book of his, in itself an outstanding contribution to the subject, may stimulate others to work in this field. F. E. HARMER

Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts. By PETER CLEMOES. Pp. 22.

The Genealogical Preface to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Four texts edited to supplement Earle-Plummer. By BRUCE DICKINS. Pp. 8 (Department of Anglo-Saxon, Occasional Papers 1, 2). Cambridge, 1952. 2*s*. 6*d*.; 1*s*.

The first of this series of Occasional Papers is called 'a preliminary study' of this neglected subject. Until recently anyone who wished to find out what the elaborate punctuation in many medieval manuscripts meant had little to guide him. A few paragraphs in the standard palaeographical works of Wattenbach, Keller, and Rand supply an historical description and a rough equation with our modern symbols. Only if he strayed into the unlikely territory of Professor Lowe's *The Beneventan Script* (containing a long chapter on punctuation) would he have found illuminating facts and the necessary references to enable him to pursue the subject further, for many of these facts have been confined to works on such diverse subjects as phonetics, medieval music, and Latin grammar. One great merit of Dr. Clemoes's paper is that it now brings together this scattered information for the first time, and, by reserving the description of the many technical terms to a special 'Glossary', sets forth the essentials clearly and in a way that is pleasant to read.

In addition to this valuable synthesis Dr. Clemoes breaks new ground in several places. He shows, for instance, that medieval punctuation came under the influence of music; indeed he claims that at least two of the *positurae* (punctuation marks) used in England since the late tenth century, and earlier on the Continent, were in fact musical symbols. The interrogation sign and the *punctus elevatus*

(a point surmounted by a tick) are held to have been borrowed from liturgical recitative, where they were certainly used to mark the inflexions appropriate to particular types of clauses. The transition from musical to speech symbol would be simple, since the liturgical inflexions were themselves based on the intonations of normal speech. From this Dr. Clemoes concludes that '*positurae* primarily indicated intonation', and through the association of intonation and syntax came to be attached to particular grammatical constructions (p. 14).

The proof of this theory must await its successful application to texts of some length. Meanwhile there are several things which make one question whether *Ars Grammatica* surrendered so fully to *Ars Musica* as Dr. Clemoes suggests. The medieval grammarians continued to describe the functions of *positurae* in terms of *comma*, *colon*, and *periodus*. Ælfric is at the very beginning of the English tradition; yet the division of his text into *periodi* is prevailingly grammatical, and an anonymous eleventh-century reviser of MSS. Bodley 340 and 342 was at pains to make it still more so. Most English manuscripts which use the interrogation sign use it indiscriminately, both after questions which may be answered by 'yes' or 'no', where alone a rising intonation is appropriate, and after questions introduced by an interrogative word, where it is not.

Two other points may be mentioned. It is misleading (p. 16) to restrict the term *positurae* to punctuation of the kind found in liturgical manuscripts, when it belongs equally to punctuation which uses only the simple point. The nine lines chosen to illustrate the *Orrmulum* (p. 17) are far from typical.

In the second of these papers Professor Dickins prints in parallel the genealogies from the *Parker Chronicle*, two previously unprinted versions from MSS. C.C.C.C. 383 and Cotton Tiberius A III, and what appear to be extracts from a fourth lost version, copied into the margin of C.C.C.C. 138 in a sixteenth-century 'Saxon' hand, identified as that of Robert Recorde. This is followed by descriptions of the texts.

Mr. Kenneth Sisam has since investigated the nature and value of this and other material in 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies' (*Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xxxix (1953), 287–348). He points out that the trunk pedigrees of the different royal houses show a suspicious tendency to contain exactly fourteen names, perhaps a recognized standard length. Can Bede's chapter on chronology, *De Temporum Ratione*, lxvi, have been the model? There the third, fourth, and fifth ages of the world are said, on the authority of St. Matthew's genealogy of Christ, to have contained fourteen generations each. Mr. Sisam believes that the sixteenth-century extracts in C.C.C.C. 138 were taken, not from a lost text of the *Chronicle* preface, but from MS. Kk. 3. 18 of the OE. Bede (p. 295, n. 1).

C. G. HARLOW

Essays on Middle English Literature. By DOROTHY EVERETT. Edited by PATRICIA KEAN. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. Pp. xii+179. 18*s.* net.

Dorothy Everett is missed by all who knew her and worked with her. She was a fine teacher and a wonderful colleague, and this volume of her collected essays

will be highly valued as a permanent reminder of her character and her work. Her contribution to Middle English studies cannot be measured only by her published writings. As a university teacher, by her learning, her enjoyment, and her shrewd judgement, she helped to maintain a high standard of scholarship in her chosen field. The *Review of English Studies* in particular benefited by her critical mind, as the list of her published work shows. Her essays are concerned for the most part with large subjects: the Middle English romances and alliterative poetry; the theme of the *Parlement of Foules* and of *Troilus and Criseyde*; the influence of Chaucer's early training in rhetoric upon the structure of his poems. Three of the essays have been previously published, and their value has long been recognized. Two essays, on Laȝamon and on alliterative verse, were intended as chapters for a volume of the *Oxford History of English Literature*. This cannot be an easy volume to write. There is a vast bulk of material, comparatively little of it of fine quality, but, guided well, as Miss Everett guides him, the general reader will find much to enjoy. In the alliterative poems the mind is caught by the sheer vivacity of the language, the sudden invention of the alliteration itself and the grace of the rhythms—'the plain purpurine sea full of proud fishes', and the stormy battles when sailors 'bicker with boisterous tackle' and *killyd are cold dede and castyn ouer burdes*. Miss Everett conveys the vigour of these poems well and her presentation of Laȝamon, with his ancient phrases and picturesque and candid style, is particularly sympathetic. The great poems of the Cotton MS. Nero A x deserve a book to themselves. A chapter cannot do justice to all Miss Everett had to say, as the admirable, condensed discussion of *Pearl*, in particular, shows. One would have liked to see the four poems considered more fully as the developing work of a single poet; as Miss Everett points out, they 'reveal a good deal about the poet's opinions and outlook'. They show the same devout and impetuous mind, preoccupied with the same problems, stimulated by the same ironies. The mortification of the self-righteous man, the humbling of human judgement before that of God, are themes that move him. Like Jonah and Gawain, this poet 'loves his life' and cannot always submit to the will of God without a bitter struggle; the conflict gives his verse its peculiar physical richness and moral vigour.

The two essays on Chaucer, which were originally lectures not designed for publication, contain some of Miss Everett's most interesting work. She writes as one who has absorbed her subject; absorbed and evaluated too the contributions of her fellow-critics, and she presents with a steady thoughtfulness what emerges to her eye as the truth. There is, she points out, a close relationship between the *Parlement of Foules* and *Troilus and Criseyde*. By the time he wrote the *Parlement*, Chaucer had pondered deeply on the subject of love; the earlier poem is 'a delicately ironical fantasy on the theme of love'. Miss Everett suggests that Chaucer is contrasting Nature and Venus as 'Natural Love' and 'artificial Courtly Love', but the contrast may take clearer shape, and accord more closely with philosophical tradition, if Nature and Venus are seen as Alanus presents them in his 'Pleynt of Kynde'. There Venus is Nature's agent, not her opposite, as in Chaucer's poem all the birds are to proceed from Nature's *parlement* to the service of Venus. In Alanus, Nature's complaint is that men in idleness have

grown bored with the fruitful happiness of love and procreation that she planned for them and have turned for diversion to all manner of barren and illicit passions. Into the philosophical context provided by Alanus, Chaucer sets the contemporary poetic ideal of love, not simply contrasting 'courtly' with 'natural' love, but demonstrating, ironically enough, how the refinement that Nature herself breeds in some of her creatures makes the pursuit of 'natural' love a complex and difficult matter. Chaucer may well have seen a relationship between Alanus's conception of Nature and Venus and Dante's discussion of love, *o naturale o d'animo*, as the source of all virtue and all vice, in *Purgatorio*, canto xvii (a passage to which Chaucer may refer in *Troilus*, i. 976 ff.). In *Troilus*, Chaucer is also setting the ideal of love in its philosophical context, but with greater seriousness and sense of pity. Venus reigned in the pagan heaven, and only after his death Troilus learns that true felicity lies beyond her sphere. The theme of the poem, Miss Everett shows, is 'the frailty of human love, in that form of it which was the ideal of the age'. Chaucer could write so beautifully of this frail love and the happiness it brings not only because he felt the beauty of it but because he also knew it to be virtuous. Love itself is good and inspired by a loving God ('God loveth, and to love wol nat werne'); it is good also that men should seek earthly felicity, for thereby they show 'how greet is the strengthe of nature', that makes them strive, however blindly, towards the perfect bliss of God. So Philosophy teaches in her consolations. Chaucer demonstrates the hopelessness of this human seeking for earthly joy, by showing with inexorable irony that the basis of the lovers' happiness is the ground of its decay. 'The very qualities demanded of a courtly lady are the cause of Criseyde's downfall.' There is much in Miss Everett's essays that will richly repay careful study.

The editor of these essays is to be congratulated on carrying out her difficult task so well. A few slips in spelling and punctuation have crept into the quotations from Chaucer in the essay on *Troilus*, and on p. 51 the translation of *full brode* should perhaps be 'wide-eyed'; but these are small points. The work has been admirably done, and the memoir that opens the volume is worthy of its subject.

URSULA BROWN

Bibliography of Chaucer 1908–1953. By DUDLEY DAVID GRIFFITH. Pp. xviii + 398. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955. $5.00.

For anyone who needs to find his way through the tall fields, not to say the mazes, of writings on Chaucer both academic and amateur this work, planned as a supplement to Miss Hammond's *Manual* and Miss Spurgeon's *Chaucer Criticism and Allusions*, will be an indispensable guidebook; whilst the sections on 'Backgrounds' [*sic*] will be of use to others besides Chaucerians. Its pages reveal an almost alarming rate of increase in the Chaucer harvest; they also reveal that the greater part of the reaping has been done by American hands. A good deal of cockle has sprung in the clean corn and, to use the compiler's idiom, 'the research value of the different entries varies considerably': a most restrained reference to articles on the study of the Prologue in secondary schools and Theodore Roosevelt's comments on a Chaucerian. But as a devotee

of W. D. Howells the present reviewer is prepared to wink, even to rejoice, at the inclusion of such works as his *Literary Passions* (1891)—one of several items inserted here to fill gaps left by the *Manual*.

The collections under each head (Life, Manuscripts, Style, Language, Works, &c.) appear to be as complete as one could hope for. Under each of the Works are given references to discussions in general studies, and useful cross-references to other parts of the Bibliography (though a direction to Braddy's *Graunson* is lacking under *The Parlement of Foules*); and there is a valuable, if occasionally inaccurate, Index. One or two entries have slipped out of place: thus we must look under 'Modernizations' for the main reference to Koch's *Kleinere Dichtungen* and the reviews thereof; and one or two of the misprints may mislead—e.g. the Magdalene Chaucer manuscript is no. 2006, not (as on p. 289) 2066. Of the sections on 'Backgrounds' that on Art is the weakest: if a work on Canterbury glass is to be included it must be Rackham's splendid monograph of 1949 and not Read's discursive essays of 1926. The ten pages on Religion do not mention McFarlane's *Wycliffe* (which in many ways supersedes Workman's) or Dom Knowles's definitive works on the Monastic and Religious Orders, or, still more surprisingly, Henry Adams's minor classic, which has taught many a heretic what lies behind Chaucer's ABC to the Virgin; is a Boston prophet without honour in Seattle?

The book would have been better, and cheaper, if the references to reviews had been trimmed and balanced. No one cares to know when *Time* reviewed Mr. Coghill's 'Lollipop Chaucer', though many of us would value directions to other reviews of Paré's *Roman de la Rose* (incidentally, the 1947 edition of that work is not noted) besides that in the inaccessible *Revue Belge*. Of Gilson's *Spirit of Medieval Philosophy* no less than nine reviews are listed, of his later and larger work, not one. The case for including Harvey's *Companion* is slight enough; there can be none at all for recording eight reviews of it, or twelve of Housman's Leslie Stephen Lecture. On the other hand certain directions to unfamiliar reviews and dissertations constitute one of the chief merits of the work, and we could have spared the constant references to *The Year's Work in English Studies* to make room for more of these. That reviewers who use initials should be identified would seem too much to ask were it not here done at haphazard, leaving many a reader to guess that C. F. is Professor Foligno and H. H. E. C. Sir Edmund Craster.

J. A. W. BENNETT

Of Sondry Folk. The Dramatic Principle in the Canterbury Tales. By R. M. LUMIANSKY. Pp. xiv+270. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955. $5.00.

'The matter and manner of their tales, and of their telling, are so suited to their different educations, humours, and callings, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth.' Dryden's praise of Chaucer's artistry has often enough been echoed in respect of certain tales and their tellers: but doubt, at the least, has been entertained concerning others. A comprehensive treatment should be welcome: and it is this that Mr. Lumiansky claims to offer.

At the outset, Mr. Lumiansky takes it as an 'indisputable point' 'that Chaucer . . . took full advantage of the opportunity to observe closely the features, dress, habits, manners, quirks, affectations, and eccentricities of the people he met . . . .' So much will hardly be denied: but Mr. Lumiansky continues his sentence '. . . and then, because of his interest in, and his keen observation of, mankind, he regularly conceived and developed his narratives as vehicles for character portrayal'. This is so very far from 'indisputable' that the reader will wish to turn at once to the detailed analyses which make up the bulk of the book. But there he will look in vain for reasoned consideration of the hypothesis that some tales may be considered hardly appropriate to the tellers. All the tales, in Mr. Lumiansky's view, are suited to their tellers, and it remains only to show the 'variety of ways' in which this is accomplished. Indeed, it is noticeable that the instances which some readers have found controversial receive less space than those where a degree of 'suitability' is common doctrine. The Prioress and Second Nun, for example, are allotted four and two and a half pages, respectively, as against the Knight's eighteen. Mr. Lumiansky's concern is not to plead for the existence of a 'dramatic principle', but to affirm it by tracing a degree and complexity of 'characterization' that can seldom have been advanced by any serious writer on this subject.

Where Mr. Lumiansky's suppositions are merely fanciful (the phrase 'it may well be' recurs frequently) we might perhaps pass them over in silence, though the disregard of the text does not augur well for sustained interpretation. But unfortunately the assessment of one 'character' has implications for others, for all have parts to play on 'the movable stage'. For example, the Pardoner ('a eunuch from birth', we are roundly told) is compared with the Edmund of *King Lear*: we are thus to see in his performance not merely avarice but 'his vanity and his urge to "get even with the world"'. This leads Mr. Lumiansky into full-scale drama. The Pardoner is watching for opportunity and victim throughout: the 'hint' he needs comes from the Wife of Bath, in whom he recognizes 'a kindred spirit', and the victim is that member of the company who 'is characterized to the highest degree by . . . affected sophistication'—Harry Bailly. Poor Harry Bailly comes in for some rough treatment generally: his pretence at literary judgement is sharply handled for his failure to detect, among other things, 'the poetic ingenuity illustrated by "Sir Thopas"'; and his jocular attempts at 'termes queinte' are one more bad mark against him. Perhaps all good men should agree that the Host's 'assumed sophistication' makes him a likely prey for the Pardoner; but the final offence seems very slight, even in Mr. Lumiansky's interpretation: 'in calling upon the Pardoner for a tale to drive away the pity he feels for Virginia, Harry uses a phrase carrying a leer and a pretence to a knowledge of French'.

Nor does the matter end with the 'characterization' of the Pilgrims. Once the 'character' is determined, Mr. Lumiansky applies it with some rigour to the Tale. Some curious judgements result. To take but one instance, in considering the Franklin, along with the Man of Law, Mr. Lumiansky observes: 'Chaucerian scholarship, after almost twenty-five years, is apparently willing—if we judge from Miss Bowden's *Commentary on the General Prologue*—to grant Manly all

but certainty in the identification of Pynchbek, and a high degree of likelihood in the case of Bussy.' Neither the degree of likelihood nor the authority cited in these terms is likely to commend itself to serious students. But for Mr. Lumiansky the Franklin is in any event established as an imitator of 'the ways of the nobility' and his Tale is 'an uneasy combination' of practical sense and high-flown sentiment. So the account of the relationship of Dorigen and Arveragus ('Thus hath she take hir servant and hir lord, / Servant in love and lord in mariage . . .') is 'a fine example of double-talk'; and this unsympathetic attitude colours Mr. Lumiansky's whole treatment. When Arveragus leaves for England, 'A happy marriage is fine, but Arveragus has remembered that he is a courtly knight and he must go away to win honour in the tournaments'. As for the unhappy Dorigen, meditating suicide, 'the tone and exaggerated nature of her complaint convince the reader she is not going to do so'. Finally, 'we cannot quite accept Arveragus . . . as a noble husband, for we have seen him send his wife to another man'.

Mr. Lumiansky's book is written with manifest enthusiasm; but his lively sense alike of the dramatic and of Chaucer's 'amazing understanding of human psychology' has led him to present too much that is merely conjectural where it does not actually conflict with open-minded interpretation. It is ironical that it should be so, for he has given us, at the outset, an unexceptionable statement of method. The critic, Mr. Lumiansky says, is not likely to 'read into' Chaucer 'complexities of a degree not intended so long as he bases his theories solidly on Chaucer's text itself and on the established findings of over 100 years of steadily industrious and often brilliant scholarship'.

The book has been carefully seen through the press: of misprints I note only 'friend' for 'fiend' (p. 136); *Benedicte!* for *Benedicite!* (p. 242); and the running headline 'The Sergeant and the Law' for 'The Sergeant of the Law' (pp. 61 ff.). The reference to Manly's edition at p. 196, n. 1 should be corrected (for '28' read '524'); and it is perhaps worth remarking that the phrase attributed to Miss Bowden on p. 197 is Mr. Lumiansky's alteration (or improvement). Miss Bowden called the Physician a 'fashionable medical man'—which is something other than a 'fashionable medicine man'.

JOHN LAWLOR

Mediaeval Drama in Chester. By F. M. SALTER. Pp. xii+138. Toronto: University Press, 1955; London: Cumberlege, 1956. 36*s.* net.

It is regrettable that Professor Salter, who in the past has contributed to our knowledge of the Chester Cycle, should have published these Alexander Lectures, which, after every allowance has been made for popular addresses designed to interest and attract a lay audience, can still hardly be considered as a serious work of scholarship. Much rhetoric is directed at 'sophisticates' who have no love or reverence for the Middle Ages, and who despise the mystery plays as the clownish antics of peasants; and the author argues that the plays, their versification apart, are works of art of a high order, and that they were performed with a wealth of professional skill. But he often falls into the error, which medieval men avoided, of confusing literary merit with originality: he should, for example,

not have refrained from pointing out that the macabre jest in which Herod's own child is slaughtered is at least as old as Macrobius, whose account, as gross and shocking as the incident in the Chester Goldsmiths' Play, was probably well known to the English authors from Peter Abelard's hymn for Holy Innocents' Day, *Rex tirannos*. And in propounding his theories about medieval stagecraft, Mr. Salter obscures the merits of his case when he seeks to prop it up by the not unfamiliar device of making a suggestion, based on little or no evidence, which later he introduces as if in the brief interval it has gained universal credence. On p. 18 he conjectures that the churches' mass vestments were loaned as costumes for the plays: on p. 64, as part of his argument that the stage-vehicles were covered in, he says 'A roof was also necessary to protect the rich vestments borrowed from the Church.' Out of the ludicrous idea that the record of sixpence paid 'for the carrying of Pilate's clothes' shows that the character had a train-bearer he proceeds, after ten pages, to create for us 'the spectacle of a magnificent King, with a page-boy to hold up the train of his robes, being dragged off to Hell'. For his frivolous proposition that the Flagellation Play was performed on a stage elaborately equipped as a church, even with a stained-glass window, he relies largely on DuCange, who, he implies, stated that *cathedra* had lost its sense 'seat', 'throne', and had come to mean exclusively 'cathedral', 'church': but this is not at all what is to be found in DuCange, to make no mention of more recent authorities; and if the Latin stage-direction is given its obvious interpretation, it shows simply that Christ in this scene was seated, as many surviving examples of the *imago pietatis*, with a conscious reflection of the ante-type, *Job in sterquilinio*, might lead us to expect as traditional. One must not be ungrateful for what there is of value in these lectures: in particular, the author's first-hand acquaintance with the Chester archives has helped him to dispel some of the confusion about the evidence of the Banns, although no one yet, it seems, has disregarded the unimportant matter of attribution—whether to Henry Francis or Ralph Higden—to seek instead to test the veracity of the extraordinary statement, first recorded in 1532, that papal and episcopal indulgences were formerly granted to those who should attend the plays with the proper dispositions. There is still much to be done in the field of medieval English drama, and one must be sorry that Mr. Salter's undiminished enthusiasm for his subject has not in this present work been better directed.

ERIC COLLEDGE

The Life of St. George. By ALEXANDER BARCLAY. Edited by WILLIAM NELSON. Pp. xxvi + 120 (Early English Text Society 230). London: Geoffrey Cumberlege for the Society, 1955. 28*s*. net.

To let a man come across a missing work of Alexander Barclay by accident when on the track of Skelton seems one of Time's more ironical revenges. Barclay's *Life of St. George*, a poem in rime royal, was fully described by Robert Sinker in his *Catalogue of Books before MDCI in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (1885). It was mentioned by Edward Hodnett in his *English Woodcuts 1480–1575*, but it escaped further notice, remaining for Mr. Nelson to rediscover and examine in detail. This present edition is the result of his researches.

The Trinity College, Cambridge, unique copy (Pr. bk. VI. i. 13) is a quarto of sixty leaves printed by Pynson in 1515. The Latin text of Spagnuoli's *Georgius* on which it is based is printed in small type in the margins. Two missing leaves and two partially destroyed ones have resulted in the loss of some ninety-five lines of the English work. Mr. Nelson gives the impression of having come somewhat reluctantly to his task, but emerging from his application to it are new biographical facts, certain of which were published in *R.E.S.*, xix (1943), 59–61. Attention is drawn to notices of Barclay's ordinations as sub-deacon, deacon, and priest which appear in the Register of Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, for 18 March 1507/8, 8 April 1508, and 22 April 1508 (vol. xiii, ff. 92^{v}, 95^{r}, 95^{v}). He is described as 'Alexander bercle lincolniensis' which implies a connexion with the see of Lincoln—either birth or long residence there. His name also appears in a list of resident brothers assembled for the election of Prior John Cottenham at Ely, 29 March 1516, and in this he is spoken of as 'vir circumspectus et providus' (Register of Nicholas West, f. 56). These are suitable epithets for a man who, early and late in his life (*M.L.R.*, xxxvi (1941), 198) was a schoolmaster.

Mr. Nelson's edition confines itself to bare essentials. The brief Introduction proceeds from a statement of the new biographical facts to a comparison of *The Life of St. George* with its original. It was Barclay's custom, apart from the *Eclogues*, to print the original Latin along with his English, presumably to indicate to the reader what changes he had made. Mr. Nelson is unable to decide which edition of Mantuan's work Barclay used, but, after ruling out the *Opera Nova* (Paris, 1509), the *Georgius Explanatus* of Ascensius (Strassburg, 1510), and the *Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1513), suggests that it may have been the Milan printing of 1507, which he has not had the opportunity of examining. Barclay's expansions, well over a thousand lines, 'repetitious dilations' Mr. Nelson calls them, were made to heighten the general moral effect. His occasional omission of a rare classical allusion, or substitution of the more familiar for the less well known, may be deliberate concessions to the capacity of his audience. It appears from his dedication to Nicholas West that his primary concern was to establish the historicity of St. George, but his version of the *Legend* does not substantially tone down that of Mantuan or the account of the saint given in the *Legenda Aurea*, reprinted in Mr. Nelson's *Appendix* from Caxton's translation. Mr. Nelson has added to the value of his edition by including the Latin text collated with the Paris 1509 and Strassburg 1510 editions.

The critical apparatus of the text is cut down to a minimum. The Glossary is drastically selective and might have been extended to include the following words:

agaynst 1768: before, by the time that.
display 1001, 2330: to open, unfold.
disseueryd 1540: dispersed, separated.
enstrength 104, 1499: to strengthen.
euynly 1928: heavenly.
fatigate 2573: to tire out.
fendly 1780: fiendish.
fleynge 270: flying.
gyltyd 2545: gilded.
hedyd 1631: beheaded.
incontynent 241, 539: straightway.
inuoluynge 2653: enveloping.
layser 1702: leisure.
lowse 1961: loose, free.
plagge 1561, 1564, 2661: plague.
preiudyce 1559, 1627: injury, wrong.

rebeller 1796: rebel.
remeue 241: to withdraw, remove.
renomyd 44: renowned.
shoure 250: assault, attack.
sygned 627: assigned.

Nerehole 273 might have been compared with the contemporary *nearhand* 'nearly, almost', and with *welnere* 1616. It is unlikely that *traslate* p. 1 (title), 64, is more than a misprint for the usual form *translate* 128. *Volt* 843, *voult* 2331, clearly meant to Barclay 'a great place', and in the first instance seems to imply something in the nature of a crypt rather than a roof.

Linguistic peculiarities of the Pynson text which have escaped notice are frequent lowerings of vowels, i.e. *o* to *a*, *i* to *e*, *e* to *a*, and occasional raising of *e* to *i*, frequent examples of metathesis and two of a misplaced *h*. An interesting shortening is seen in *plaggis* (given as a Scottish form in *O.E.D.*).

In spite of Barclay's rhetorical disclaimer, 'My langage rude / and moche ineloquent' (52) it is in his vocabulary and his use of it that one of his main claims to interest lies. His language varies between the simple colloquial and the ornate, between the homely proverb and the aureate inkhorn term. Such strength as it has it derives from the tang of country speech which is its kernel. Barclay was no great innovator, but he can at least be credited with the appearance in this text of the first traceable uses of words or expressions which his editor has failed to notice: *satellytis* 12: attendants upon a person of importance, with the implication of subservience; *intoxycate* 382: to poison, literally, or to corrupt, morally; *stubbyl lande* 439: the first *O.E.D.* quotation for this expression is 1596, Shakespeare, *1 Hen. IV*, I. iii. 35; *prolongynge* 702: deferring, delaying, putting off. Among the proverbial expressions which might have been mentioned are: *It was a worlde / to se* 289; *at dethes dore* 822 (earlier than Horman by four years); *as whyte as bone of whall* 1150; *The hyer hylle / man shall the farther se* 1316.

The phrase *wofully arayde* 1836 calls for comment. It is the title of a religious lyric printed, from MS. Harley 402, by Carleton Brown as no. 103 of his *Fifteenth Century Religious Lyrics*. The poem was attributed to Skelton by a sixteenth-century hand in the Heber copy of the Harley manuscript. This attribution is almost certainly wrong. The occurrence of the phrase in Barclay's poem might be used to argue against Skelton's authorship, for Barclay is hardly likely to have quoted from the work of a detested rival. But the use of the expression by Barclay is in line with his *as whyte as bone of whall*, run to death in the secular lyrics, and points to its being commonly in proverbial use.

The Notes have the virtues of clarity and conciseness. In the incident of the beheading of the enchanter, 2134, 'they rowlyd with theyr fete the head' calls for comparison with *Sir Gawain* 428, 'fele hit foyned wyth her fete, þere hit forth roled'. This has Celtic analogues. It was an Irish custom to calcine the heads of slain enemies and use them as footballs.

'Barclay's *Life of St. George* is not a remarkable work' is the Laodicean judgement of its editor. No one would strongly disagree with him, though his voice is the voice of Skelton's editor implying a suppressed comparison. Barclay was primarily a schoolmaster and the pedantic element in his work is constant. He is seldom a poet, and always a pedant, who, nevertheless, as Mr. Nelson acknow-

ledges, was sufficiently sensitive to the temper of his times to base his 'translations' on the works of such cultured humanists as Aeneas Sylvius, Mancinus, Sebastian Brandt, and Baptista Spagnuoli. Even if the recovered *Life of St. George* does little more than emphasize this awareness of current needs and the steady endeavour to supply them, it deserves, on that score alone, the attention of scholars and their gratitude to its editor. BEATRICE WHITE

John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation. By BROR DANIELSSON. Part I. Pp. 338 (Stockholm Studies in English 5). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955. Kr. 38.

This book is the first of two volumes on John Hart of which the second will be a systematic phonology. A review of the first volume only must therefore be in the nature of an interim report. This first volume has two main sections: a biographical introduction, and a bibliographical introduction and critical texts of *The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of our Inglish Toung*, *The Orthographie*, and *A Methode*. There is also an Index Verborum which purports to include, as far as possible, all the words found in phonetic transcript in John Hart's works. There are twenty-five excellently produced plates.

The biographical introduction consists of a short biography of the Chester Herald illustrated by a wealth of documents set out in thirty-one appendixes. Dr. Danielsson identifies him as a cadet member of the Hart family of Northolt in Middlesex. The theory appears to rest essentially on a comparison of Northolt records with a genealogy of Matthew Hart of Northall in Middlesex entered at the Herald's visitation of Middlesex in 1634. This visitation (Fig. 3) traces back the family of Matthew Hart to Thomas Hart of Devonshire, who, according to the pedigree given, had two sons Robert Hart and John Hart, Chester Herald. The descendants of Robert Hart appear as William Hart—Matthew Hart—Matthew Hart, the father of Matthew Hart who made the deposition. About the Chester Herald the pedigree gives no further information. The characters in this genealogy Dr. Danielsson claims to have identified in Northolt records (Appendix 5). The visitation pedigree is thus significant since it 'furnishes the important information that John Hart, Chester Herald is the same man as John Hart, the brother of Robert and Margaret Hart in the Northolt records'. But convincing though Dr. Danielsson's argument appears at first sight (weighted as it is with a wealth of erudition and a superabundance of detail) there are difficulties in this identification. Firstly, the father of John Hart, presumptive Chester Herald, appears as Thomas Hart of Devon in the visitation, but as John Hart in the Northolt records. Dr. Danielsson explains this discrepancy as due to an error in the visitation pedigree (a document compiled nearly 150 years after the death of Thomas Hart and lacking the authentication of a signature), 'a confusion' he writes, 'of his own ancestor with the ancestor of the Highgate Harts who had the same coat-of-arms' (p. 19). But it is clearly possible that the identification of John Hart of Northolt with the Chester Herald is part of this same confusion; and the visitation might, in fact, be thought to show that the Chester Herald was known to be a descendant of Thomas Hart of Devon.

Moreover, the crucial identification of Robert Hart and John Hart in the visitation with the characters of the same name in the Northolt records is open to question. Dr. Danielsson himself admits that it is difficult to equate the Chester Herald with the John Hart Junior who appears rather vaguely and infrequently in the Northolt records; nor is there any reference in them to the Mary Hart who appears in contemporary records as the wife of the Chester Herald (App. 19, 20, 21). Dr. Danielsson seems, also, to feel some doubt as to the identity of the two Roberts. In the visitation Robert Hart is a merchant; in the records an innkeeper. Robert Hart, the London merchant, brother of the Chester Herald, may, of course, be a late elevation of Robert Hart the innkeeper. But there was another Robert Hart about whom one would like further information before passing a final judgement on the visitation pedigree. He is mentioned as a beneficiary in the will of John Hart of Highgate dated 5 September 1565 (App. 29). The document wills 'to Robert Hart, a little boy in his house, £6 3 4 at the age of twenty-one'. This could not be the Robert Hart of Northolt who died about 1536–8 (App. 5) but could have been a young relative of John Hart, the grandson of Thomas Hart of Devon. There is thus the possibility that confusion arose in the visitation pedigree on account of the existence of a similar pattern of relationship in the two families; namely, a John Hart followed in the next generation by a John and Robert Hart.

Secondly, the identification of John Hart of Northolt with the Chester Herald is awkward chronologically. Dr. Danielsson points out that, since the death of John Hart of Northolt's father was presented at the Northolt Court Baron on 19 October 1500, John Hart could not have been born later than the summer of 1501. John Hart, however, had a younger sister, Margaret (App. 5). Therefore, unless they were twins, John Hart could not have been born later than the autumn of 1500. Other considerations suggest that he may have been born rather earlier. References to Margaret Hart as the wife of William Cole appear to go back to 18 October 1501 (p. 43). She must, therefore, have been born at least by 1486. This would mean that her elder brother (unless they were twins) must have been born about 1482–5 at the latest and possibly earlier. He would, therefore, be 85–88 years old when *A Methode* was published; 82–85 years old when he became Chester Herald in 1567.

The evident connexion between Chester Herald and Lord Burghley would seem to suggest that John Hart gent., grandson of Thomas Hart whose son married Lady Mary de Vere, might be a more likely candidate for the position of Chester Herald than the obscure John Hart of Northolt. But here again the dating is difficult. The birth of John Hart of Highgate's son and heir, Eustace, about 1567 suggests that he was probably married about 1560–6, which would give a birth-date between about 1534 and 1544 or at the latest 1550. He would clearly have been young (and possibly too young) to have written *The Opening* in 1551. Moreover, there is no record in this family of the Mary Hart who figures in contemporary records as the wife of the Chester Herald. But there is no shortage of John Harts in the records and the search should probably continue. One would like to know, for example, the identity of the MW. (Mary Willoughby?) who sealed the letter from Mary Hart, Chester Herald's wife, to

Lord Burghley in MS. Lansdowne 18. But we must be grateful to Dr. Danielsson for putting so much material at our disposal. The very fact that he himself provides the material for criticism of his conclusions speaks for the thoroughness of the work.

The most valuable part of this volume is undoubtedly the texts. *The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of our Inglish Toung*, noted by Jespersen in B.M. MS. Royal 17 C VII, is now printed for the first time. Dr. Danielsson dates the inception of the manuscript from about 1549 since Hart speaks in *The Orthographie* of having written the treatise about '*xx year passed*'. *The Orthographie*, first printed by Seres in 1569, is based on the B.M. copy C 57 a 35, one of the two Museum copies collated by Jespersen. This copy, held by Dr. Danielsson to be in all probability Hart's own, contains 'important corrections in print and by pen', probably in part due to Hart himself. Similar considerations dictated the choice of the Folger Shakespeare Library copy (viz. the copy noted by Jespersen as belonging to Mr. Christie-Miller) of *A Methode* in preference to the incomplete B.M. C 54 b 15. All the texts are printed with full critical apparatus.

The bibliographical introduction consists of two main parts: first a detailed account of the known texts of these works: the manuscript of *The Opening*; nine copies of Seres's print of *The Orthographie* (four English and five American) and the two copies of Denham's print of *A Methode*; then seven tables showing the textual relationships of each group, thus setting forth schematically the considerations dictating the choice of a basic text.

There are some minor misprints but, on the whole, the book is printed with remarkable accuracy, and represents a most useful contribution to the study of John Hart.

PAMELA GRADON

The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe. By HARRY LEVIN. Pp. 231. London: Faber and Faber, 1954. 21*s*. net.

Reviewing the Marlovian scholarship of the present century in his preface, Professor Harry Levin remarks that, except for brief comments by Mr. T. S. Eliot and a few other critics, 'it cannot be said that twentieth-century criticism has yet made its revaluation' of Marlowe, and that he is therefore attempting to 'explicate his poetry and dramaturgy', showing 'the idea that underlies the image, the gesture that accompanies the word'. Though the ensuing chapters are only incidentally concerned with biographical and bibliographical questions, they are considerably wider in scope than this preliminary announcement suggests, for Mr. Levin offers us not only a considered discussion of Marlowe's themes, his structural experiments, his diction, his imagery, and his stagecraft, but also a commentary on his innovations as a dramatist, his influence upon later writers, and his mental condition as diagnosed by amateur and professional psychoanalysts. His discussion is more impressive than his commentary.

In his discussion of Marlowe's themes, Mr. Levin finds it convenient to adopt four Latin terms coined by Jansen and Pascal. The accusations of Atheism,

Machiavellianism, and Epicureanism brought against Marlowe derive from his *libido sciendi*, *libido dominandi*, and *libido sentiendi* respectively; subsuming these urges is a *libido excellendi*, and all four find significant expression in his poems and plays. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, the gods divert Aeneas from the enticements offered to his *libido sentiendi* and his *libido dominandi* in the form of exquisite sensations, wealth, and a crown. At the close of Part I of *Tamburlaine*, the Machiavellian virtu, the *libido dominandi*, of the hero blends with the apprehension of beauty, the *libido sentiendi*, aroused in him by Zenocrate. Mr. Levin describes Zenocrate as 'the perfect embodiment of the senses in their very imperfection; her presence is a continual reminder of the closeness between the carnal and the charnel'. Without accepting all the esoterics of Miss M. C. Bradbrook's *The School of Night*, one could justifiably make more of Zenocrate's symbolic significance than this. Moreover, the morality of Tamburlaine's fall in Part II is probably less perfunctory than Mr. Levin suggests; it seems a calculated irony on Marlowe's part to bring ambition to an orthodox end by heretical means, i.e. by the agency of Allah, instead of God. He argues cogently, however, that Marlowe's interest in suffering in *The Jew of Malta* shows his 'awakening to a vision of evil, though he innocently beholds it from the outside', that in *The Massacre at Paris* 'Caesarism exhausts its possibilities' for him, and that *Edward II* embodies his major discovery 'that tragic life needs no villains; that plots are spun by passions; that men betray themselves'. His discussion of the themes of *Dr. Faustus* is even more arresting. His claim that 'the Evil Angel is a better theologian than the Good', that the play expresses 'the conviction of sin without the belief in salvation', may be questioned, particularly by those who accept Professor L. B. Campbell's persuasive arguments about the significance of the 'sin of despair' in '*Dr. Faustus*: A Case of Conscience' (*P.M.L.A.*, lxvii (1952) 219–39). But Mr. Levin's interpretation of Mephistophilis is highly stimulating. If Marlowe is 'imaginatively identified with any character', he observes, it is with Mephistophilis, who is 'both demon and Damon', 'who suffers with Faustus like a second self yet also plays the cosmic ironist, wise in his guilty knowledge and powerful in his defeated rebellion'. Marlowe so humanizes the state of damnation in *Dr. Faustus* that by comparison Calderon's *El Mágico Prodigoso* seems naïve and Goethe's *Faust* sentimental.

Mr. Levin offers many valuable illustrations to support his parallel thesis that 'Marlowe was a born playwright' by showing how his plots, imagery, and stagecraft are often finely integrated expressions of the theme of 'overreaching'. Puttenham, he notes, describes the figure of hyperbole as 'the Ouer reacher'. Correspondingly, he finds a rich variety of hyperbole in Marlowe's plays, particularly in those comparisons which challenge the great archetypes of mythology, and in those descriptions which suggest infinity, e.g. 'quenchles fire', 'toples towers'. Key-images and key-characteristics, moreover, are often given special emphasis by skilful stagecraft or by a boldly symbolic use of stage properties; in *Tamburlaine*, for instance, the dominant image of Phaëton's fatal career has its visible counterpart in Tamburlaine's chariot: in *The Jew of Malta*, the boiling cauldron can be associated with the overflowing cauldron which symbolizes the humbling of ambition in Whitney's *Emblems* (1586): in *Edward II*, the king's

description of his triumph at the tournament is the more poignant because he speaks from a stage which has been deliberately stripped bare: in the 1616 quarto of *Dr. Faustus*, the visions of salvation and damnation offered by the Good Angel and the Bad Angel respectively are intensified by the lowering of a throne from the 'heavens' and by the 'discovery' of hell mouth. Mr. Levin justly emphasizes the 'sensuous immediacy' which the characters of classical mythology had for Marlowe and his audience, and aptly comments on the significant ambiguity of the word 'profession' in *The Jew of Malta* and of 'minion' in *Edward II*, though some readers may doubt whether Marlowe was consciously Anglicizing 'Lucifer' when he invented the name 'Lightborne' for Edward's murderer.

The least impressive parts of this book are those concerning the work of Marlowe's predecessors and contemporaries. Mr. Levin's discriminating survey of the development of blank verse before *Tamburlaine*, for instance, is depreciated by his unwarrantable assumption that *The Spanish Tragedy* was written 'not long after *Tamburlaine*'. On the subject of tragic protagonists, he declares, 'Where the *Mirror for Magistrates* darkly reflected the falls of princes, Marlowe exhibits the rise of commoners', but there are important exceptions to both clauses in this generalization. He errs more seriously when he asserts that the tragedies written before *Edward II* 'differed from the history play by being set in some other country than England'. What of *Gorboduc* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur*? On p. 125 he ascribes *Edward III*, without qualification, to Thomas Heywood. 'It is easy to understand', he writes later, 'why Thomas Dekker, who spent so much of his life in a debtor's prison, dramatized the fable of Fortunatus and his wishing-purse'. But *Old Fortunatus* was published in 1600 and Dekker did not begin his long term of imprisonment for debt until 1613. These questionable statements, however, do not affect Mr. Levin's central argument, which is the most comprehensive interpretation of the Marlovian theme of aspiration as yet attempted. His interpretation of the equally important Marlovian theme of the fall is less convincing, and a detailed treatment of this complex subject is necessary before it can be claimed that a twentieth-century revaluation of Marlowe has been achieved.

WILLIAM A. ARMSTRONG

The Merchant of Venice. Edited by JOHN RUSSELL BROWN. Pp. lviii+174 (The Arden Shakespeare [new and revised edition]. General editor: UNA ELLIS-FERMOR). London: Methuen, 1955. 15s. net.

Mr. Brown's edition of *The Merchant of Venice* strikes me as, in the main, a thorough and serviceable piece of work. The Introduction, in particular, is well balanced and agreeably written. His section on the Text gives a clear account of what is now generally held about the inter-relationship of the texts of Q1, Q2, and F1 and, even though no new variants have been found, his collation of the six examples of Q1 in this country is a real service to future editors. On the question of Date Mr. Brown is orthodox, placing the play's composition within two years of 1598—the date of its first entry in the Stationers' Register and its mention by Meres. A succinct section on the Sources is supplemented by five appendixes containing material from *Il Pecorone*, *Gernutus*,

Zelauto, 'Piot's' *Orator*, and the *Gesta Romanorum*. There is an interesting account of the play's Stage History, and the final section on the interpretation of the play is refreshingly free from eccentricity.

What I like least about the edition is the collation notes. These seem overburdened with distracting information about spelling and punctuation, making it difficult to see which of Q1's substantive readings are either wrong or open to question; and, pleasurable as the light punctuation of Q1 is, I do not think it was sensible to reproduce it so closely in a modernized edition. What advantage is there in causing readers to falter over 'What are there masques?' (II. v. 28), when the whole object of modernization is surely to remove such obstacles to comprehension from their path?

Apart from what seems to me an unrealistic attitude towards 'ye olde', common to recent New Arden texts, Mr. Brown's readings are, in the main, orthodox. I was pleased to see the sensible defence of Theobald's 'page' (II. i. 35; Q1 'rage'), but on the other hand disappointed to find a return to Q1's 'paleness' (Theobald 'plainness') when Bassanio chooses the leaden casket (III. ii. 106). Was there ever a context in which an unequivocal 'plainness' was more cogent than the climax to this speech declining the beguilement of 'ornament'? The note in defence of Q1 seems, indeed, much like the defence of 'damned error' condemned in the opening of this speech. In general, the lessons learnt from *Hamlet* Q2 about the *Merchant of Venice* compositors still need to be applied to the latter text and, comparatively clean as it is, there is plainly scope for more emendation rather than less. What happened in the printing of *Hamlet* Q2 should, in particular, promote a better understanding of what is wrong with an abominable line like 'I'll wait as long for you then: approach' (II. vi. 24). Ritson's refinement on Pope's conjectural restoration of the metre (recorded by the old Cambridge editors, though by neither Arden edition) shows a better appreciation of the likely cause of the trouble than the suggestions cited in the New Arden note. There is no need to suppose a cut whenever the metre is defective; and does anyone seriously believe that Shakespeare was such a bungler as to violate the metrical structure of blank verse for pauses in delivery or (as is suggested at I. i. 143) to create a realistic impression of embarrassment? This is naturalism, foreign to Shakespeare's technique.

Mr. Brown's notes are serviceable though not invariably judicious. It was quite wrong to reject Pooler's explanation that 'the fire seven times tried this' II. ix. 63) referred to the silver casket (cf. Psalm xii. 6), and I should have liked to hear a more decisive note in glosses and paraphrase. In general, I think, one of the weaknesses of New Arden notes is the assumption that Shakespeare's meaning was as complicated as his expression: the gist of the matter, when stripped of its trappings, is often far simpler than they allow. Thus, 'upon supposed fairness' (III. ii. 94) is simply an instance of abstract for concrete (as Verity suggested), like 'valour's excrement' (III. ii. 87); and when Jessica protests against holding a candle to her shames (II. vi. 41) she is, contrariwise, using a simple concrete metaphor (= reveal)—as, indeed, her protest that the role of torch-bearer is 'an office of discovery' (II. vi. 43) makes clear. The gloss 'stand by and see something happening', supported by comparison with 'candle-

holders' in other contexts, is irrelevant to the dramatic situation here. The most illuminating glosses on Shakespeare's meaning are Shakespeare's own, and if they are allowed the importance they merit they not only explain what sense he intended but also, often, what word. ALICE WALKER

Middleton's Tragedies. A Critical Study. By SAMUEL SCHOENBAUM. Pp. xii + 275 (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature 168). New York: Columbia University Press; London: Cumberlege, 1955. $4.50; 36*s.* net.

In Part I of his book, the author explores the nature of Middleton's major tragedies, among which he numbers *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*; in Part II he is principally concerned with justifying the assumption that Middleton was the author of these two plays. It would clearly have been better to reverse the order of the Parts: Dr. Schoenbaum's readers can hardly be expected to share his views on the canon even before knowing his arguments. The actual arrangement is the more to be regretted in that Part II presents a fair case for Middleton's authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* and at least arouses interesting speculations concerning *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. In fact, the book is more stimulating in its discussion of authorship than in its criticism of the plays.

Among the arguments on the canon here brought forward, prominence is given to parallel passages linking the two disputed plays with Middleton's accepted work. Although it is unlikely that we shall reach agreement on the matter, Dr. Schoenbaum has capably marshalled the evidence, and at least reopened the case, for Middleton's authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*. He has also some useful arguments linking the 'Curious Impertinent' plot of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* with the city-comedies that Middleton was writing about that time: it is notable that most of his more convincing parallel passages from that play come from this subordinate action. If, indeed, he were content to argue for Middleton's authorship only of that section of the play, we should very possibly feel ready to grant him the case. But he is strangely out of sympathy with the main action of the tragedy. For him it is a Fletcherian entertainment, and his view of Fletcher is the usual condescending one. Yet in the story of Govianus and his unnamed Lady and the unnamed Tyrant we have, surely, a piece of dramatic writing quite unlike anything else written near the year 1611, when this play was licensed. In its sustained note of lamentation, in its blend of lyricism and necrophily, in the strange ending where a kind of barren peace is sadly proclaimed, it is nearer the atmosphere of Ford than anything outside that dramatist's work. Certainly it is remote from what we know of Middleton, and remote too from Fletcher's sharp-cut dramas. Without hazarding a guess as to the authorship of this part of the play, we may indeed feel that Dr. Schoenbaum has overlooked its individuality and has assigned to Middleton a piece of work quite outside his range.

The matter of collaboration in *The Changeling* is satisfactorily handled, and the familiar argument that Middleton's hand is to be traced in *Timon* is viewed with a wise scepticism.

In the critical studies that make up Part I, the author does not seem to arrive at a full perception of the plays. His partial view of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* has been noted, and his accounts of *The Changeling* and *Women Beware Women*, though at times useful in detail, are lacking in a final coherence. Of all the major writers of Jacobean tragedy, Middleton is indeed the least easy to describe, the least ready to commit himself to a recognizable *Weltanschauung*. Dr. Schoenbaum refers to his displaying 'divine retribution for sin', to the 'framework of Middleton's moral order', yet he speaks too of Middleton's tragic characters as 'driven by impulses and passions which they are unable to master'. Certainly these two sides of the picture are to be found in Middleton, but Dr. Schoenbaum hardly faces the implications of a determinism which includes retribution. The 'divine' in Middleton is much more impersonal than in any other Jacobean, his sense indeed of the supernatural is notably thin. And his men and women, we feel, are not even aware of their own ignorance: they lack the sense of a cosmic darkness that, in her ending, makes Webster's Vittoria stand above her justicers. Middleton, in fact—especially in *Women Beware Women*—gives us characters on that human level which Aristotle momentarily recognized as possible in drama, neither exalted as for tragedy nor degraded as for comedy. Dr. Schoenbaum rightly sees that in this play 'Middleton appears to be on the verge of creating a novel kind of drama—a drama that occupies a middle ground between comedy and tragedy', but he is unconvincing when he describes the characters as 'moral idiots', as 'too base' for 'pity', and when he claims that, unlike Ford, Middleton refrains from 'investing perversity with pathos': rather, in his two major plays there is no room for pity of any sort; there is only clinical exploration of the actual, pursued with passion and shrewdness. He had a strong notion of cause and effect (a little like that, in our own day, of Scott Fitzgerald), but he was not much given to judging. Perhaps Dr. Schoenbaum, like some other recent writers on early seventeenth-century drama, is a little anxious to claim a relative 'healthiness' for his chosen author.

However, though further critical study seems needed, this book usefully draws attention to some major features of Middleton's tragic plays and makes their special quality more evident. CLIFFORD LEECH

The Poetry of Meditation. By LOUIS L. MARTZ. Pp. x+375. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954; London: Cumberlege, 1955. $5.00; 40*s.* net.

I cannot believe that any lovers of the religious poetry of the seventeenth century will not be grateful to Mr. Martz for his book. Whether or not they accept his main thesis, and whatever disagreement they feel at various points, his readers will gain from it a real sense of refreshment and insight from being made to look at this poetry in the context of the spiritual writings of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. In the first part of the book he discusses, with an admirable range of illustration, various methods of systematic meditation: the Ignatian Exercises, developments in the meditations on the life of Christ and his Mother, the Spiritual Combat, or methods of self-analysis, and the Puritan search for 'evidences of election'. In the second half he discusses three poets, Southwell, Donne, and Herbert.

The chapter on Donne is substantially the paper which Mr. Martz contributed to *ELH* in December 1947 on the *Anniversaries*. I read this when I had already written an article on Donne's use of the *Exercises* in his Holy Sonnets, which I had decided not to publish but to use in an edition of his *Divine Poems*. I wrote at once to Mr. Martz and we decided to continue working independently. If I had waited for his book, my edition would, I am only too well aware, have been better. He had my edition when he was on the verge of going to press and has referred to it very generously in his footnotes. I wish he had been able to incorporate those of my findings which he agrees with into his text, and, perhaps, to have challenged others. If I now proceed to criticize some things in his book, it will, I hope, be recognized that I do so on a general basis of admiration. He writes with a sensitive appreciation of spiritual and aesthetic values, which makes his book a pleasure to read, and the quarrel I have with his main theory and my disagreement on some issues does not affect my sense of the value of his study which is continually illuminating and provocative of further thought.

Mr. Martz's general thesis is that the art of religious meditation played a fundamental part in the development of the qualities which modern critics, beginning with Grierson and Eliot, have found in the so-called 'metaphysical school'. He writes

> The 'metaphysical poets' may be seen, not as Donne and his school, but as a group of writers, widely different in temper and outlook, drawn together by resemblances that result, basically, from the common practice of certain methods of religious meditation. The direct influence of one of these poets upon another, though considerable, would thus become secondary: individual mastery of the art of meditation would lie behind the poetry and be the essence of their kinship. (p. 2)

The present study, it is claimed, 'attempts to modify the view of literary history' which sees a 'Donne tradition' in English religious poetry. It suggests instead a 'meditative tradition' which finds its first notable example not in Donne but in Robert Southwell.

My first criticism of this thesis is that it is impossible if we wish to discuss the 'metaphysical' style to isolate religious poetry from secular poetry and both from prose and drama. The 'metaphysical' style, or the style of the 'school of Donne', or the 'strong-lined' style is not confined to religious poetry; and, indeed, the expression 'strong-lined', which some have wished to substitute for the admittedly unsatisfactory term 'metaphysical', appears originally to have been used of prose and only considerably later to have been applied to verse which showed the same qualities. I have no doubt Mr. Martz is right to see a connexion between the intellectual, sequacious, argumentative manner of the seventeenth-century lyric and the intellectualization of the art of meditation which we find in the *Exercises*; but I cannot see it as a causal connexion, for such intellectualization is not confined to religious poetry. I think he is right to agree with Mr. Empson against Miss Tuve that Herbert's 'The Sacrifice' exploits paradox in a way that the medieval lyrics which she cited do not: but it is equally true, as he hints, that Donne's love poems twist and exploit and make explicit the

paradoxes and ambivalent feelings of Petrarchan love poetry, and I find it more profitable to connect Donne's love poetry with paradoxes, which he wrote, and with plays, which we know he frequented, than with the *Spiritual Exercises*, which we only surmise that he may have performed.

My second criticism is that I feel that Mr. Martz uses the words 'tradition' and 'structure' rather loosely. I do not think he has established anything which deserves to be called a 'meditative tradition'. He shows affinities, some clear, some far less clear, between various poems and various methods of prayer and habits of devotion. Sometimes the link is one of method, as when one of Donne's sonnets is shown to open with a 'composition of place'; sometimes it is one of temperament as when Herbert's line, 'Softnesse, and peace, and joy, and love, and blisse' is said to 'sum up the core of Salesian spirituality which permeates *The Temple*'; sometimes it is a subject, such as the 'meditation of creatures' which is in question. But what strikes me as I read these poets is their eclecticism, rather than the presence of a common tradition other than the wide tradition of Christian habits of thought and devotion. I think, by the end of this study, the words 'meditative tradition' have necessarily become so wide that they have ceased to have any defining value.

It is the same with the word 'structure'. Mr. Martz's contention is that the Ignatian method of meditation with the three powers of the soul, memory, understanding, and the affections, has shaped the 'argumentative evolution' of the metaphysical lyric. He does not, to my mind, establish this by his examination of particular poems. He has no difficulty in showing that many of the poems begin by a firm statement of the subject. But the abrupt openings he quotes on p. 31 from Donne and those he quotes from Herbert on the following page have little in common except abruptness. None of the Herbert openings show the characteristic opening of a formal meditation with its employment of the memory to recall 'a place'. Three sonnets of Donne are used to illustrate the point; but they are, I think, distorted. In Donne's sonnet on the Last Judgement, Mr. Martz divides the octave into a composition, followed by a point. But the whole of the first eight lines of the sonnet is surely of a piece, a summoning up by the imagination of the picture of the Last Day, ll. 5–8 giving content to the words 'numberlesse infinities of soules'. They are not 'a "discoursing" upon the causes of death throughout human history: a summary of sin and a reminder of its consequences'. And, anyhow, is such a 'discoursing' what is meant by a 'point' in a meditation? The sonnet beginning 'If poysonous minerals, and if that tree' is said to show 'somewhat the same procedure' and we are told that in the sonnet 'I am a little world made cunningly' 'we can follow the same movement'. But can we? In the first, as in the sonnet on the Judgement, the first eight lines are of a piece; but in this case they are a series of questions, not a 'composition'. In the second, the first four lines form a short 'composition', and then the poet breaks into a passionate appeal for help to mourn his sins. Mr. Martz goes much further than I care to in saying that the Holy Sonnets 'are, in the most specific sense of the term, meditations, Ignatian meditations: providing strong evidence for the profound impact of early Jesuit training upon the later career of John Donne' (p. 53). I should not care to say

more than that the *Spiritual Exercises* 'lie behind' the Holy Sonnets, and have supplied Donne with topics and with methods of treating those topics; but varied elements from a full formal meditation appear in various combinations. If we analyse the 'structure' of the separate sonnets, we shall find it varies greatly from sonnet to sonnet. Again it is the freedom of Donne the poet, not the discipline of Donne the meditator, that strikes me.

If Mr. Martz wished to establish a connexion between the use of the three powers of the soul and the 'structure' of various poems, he should, I think, have been stricter in his treatment of the three powers. He does not sufficiently distinguish the basic element in any formal meditation, the use of memory to set a scene or evoke a situation, from the firm statement of a subject, the proposition, recommended by rhetoricians. What struck me in the Holy Sonnets, as it struck Mr. Martz, was the extraordinary vividness of imagination in some of them, the 'composition of place', so different to my mind from the opening of a poem such as 'Good Friday', which begins with a leisurely analysis of an analogy between the soul of man and a sphere, in other words with a conceit. Posing an analogy and then working it out is a very different mental process from evoking the Judgement or one's death-bed, or the actual scene of the mocking of Christ. Mr. Martz three times speaks of Donne 'stating a problem', as if it were the equivalent of 'composing a place'. He is even willing to call 'The Cross' a meditation, when it is surely nothing but an argument, justifying the use of 'material crosses' as aids to devotion, and contains no image of the Crucified and no word of supplication.

Lastly, what proof have we that these poets, with the exception of Southwell, did in fact practise any particular methods of systematic meditation? The argument is circular. 'The poems are as they are, because the poets had "an individual mastery of the art of meditation". How do we know this? Because the poems are as they are.' Can we deduce a poet's religious practices from his religious poetry with any more certainty than we can deduce a poet's love-story from his love poetry? What evidence we have external to the poetry itself does not seem to point towards Mr. Martz's conclusion. It seems probable that Donne as a young man may have performed the *Exercises* in a simplified form. We can hardly assert that he must have done so in his middle years because he shows acquaintance with them in the Holy Sonnets. It is possible, but not more. But his *Devotions* and the prayers in *Essays in Divinity* and his rare references to prayer in the sermons suggest that by 'meditation' Donne meant something much more discursive, a less rigorous exercise than the Ignatian meditation. Herbert's *A Priest to the Temple* does not hint at any partiality for particular methods of mental prayer and Vaughan's *Mount of Olives*, with its long oral prayers and its comprehensive 'meditations', running over the whole life of Christ, has a lack of system which makes me hesitate to think of Vaughan practising the 'art' of meditation, profoundly meditative poet as he is.

Mr. Martz's study depends almost entirely upon continental works of spirituality. He may well rejoin: 'What else could I depend on?' That is the point. The only English treatise which he uses, except Baxter's later in the century, is Joseph Hall's *Art of Meditation*, based, as he shows, on a late medieval work.

But he has to own that Hall does not distinguish the work of memory from understanding, and divides meditation into two, not three, parts, one in the understanding, the other in the affections. In his meditation on death which Hall appends as a specimen, there is only a brief witty description of death, not a 'composition'. The whole of this meditation on death could hardly be further from a typical Ignatian meditation with its intense visualization of the moment of dissolution and its terrors. If we are to use the word 'meditation' in a narrow sense, as a form of mental prayer, its essence is surely the deliberate exercise of the imagination to summon up a mental image so strong that it arouses the desired affective responses and redirects and braces the will. In this sense Hall's meditations are not meditations at all. They are meditations in the more general sense in which we use the word, and in which it was also used in the seventeenth century: concentrated reflections upon a topic, which may, or may not, as here, issue in prayer.

The extraordinary richness and variety of religious poetry in the first half of the seventeenth century in England, which make us unwilling to herd together its practitioners under the label of 'metaphysical poets' or 'school of Donne', make me unwilling also to accept this scheme which sees them writing in a 'tradition' which begins with Southwell. I would suggest, tentatively, that what has been overlooked in this study is the nature of the Elizabethan settlement, with its lack of a confessional basis, its wide appeal to the Scriptures and to history, and its preservation of so much of the institutions of the medieval Church. The intellectual liberty which one is so keenly aware of in reading the sermons of Andrewes and Donne, who appeal easily and confidently to Christians of all ages and of all confessions as witnesses and interpreters of the great Scriptural truths, is one fruit of the decision that nothing should be adjudged heresy which was not contrary to the Scriptures or the decisions of the first four General Councils. The variety and beauty of the religious poetry of the seventeenth century is, perhaps, another fruit of this liberty. I would suggest it is the product of imaginations which have not accepted any particular systems as magisterial, but are open to many influences.

But although I am not able to accept Mr. Martz's thesis in the form in which he presents it, the passages he cites from works of devotion again and again illuminate the poems, and his study shows how ancient as well as how widespread are the topics of this poetry. His discussion of such matters as the 'application of the senses' and the methods of self-examination by which sinful impulses are deliberately aroused in order to be repelled in 'spiritual combat' are particularly helpful. I was much interested in his account of the 'Corona of our Lady', and wish I had been aware of this method of saying the Rosary earlier. Mr. Martz shows conclusively, I think, by reference to the third and fifth sonnets of Donne's '*La Corona*' the reflection of this devotional practice, in which the mind runs quickly over a sequence of events.[1] In his general treatment of Donne

[1] I should, perhaps, in connexion with '*La Corona*' correct a misinterpretation of a statement of Grierson's on p. 217. All seven sonnets appear under the title '*La Corona*' in the Harleian MS. The scribe has merely written the first line under his general title 'Holy Sonnets . . .' to indicate which set is to follow.

I agree with Mr. Martz's recognition of the 'ground-tone of religious quest' in his love poetry and sympathize with his desire to connect the 'Nocturnal' with the death of Anne Donne. I may mention here that there is some external evidence which justifies us in regarding this poem, if we wish to, as late in date: its extreme rarity in manuscript and the nature of the manuscripts which contain it. It is a very highly wrought poem and there seems no reason why it should not have been circulated; but it does not appear in the manuscripts of Group I, which contain almost all the Songs and Sonnets and seem to present an authoritative collection of Donne's poems made about 1614, nor is it found in manuscripts of Group III, except in MS. Luttrell, which was written after Donne's death, and MS. O'Flaherty which was copied and expanded from Luttrell. Otherwise it occurs only in the four manuscripts of Group II, which contain a collection which cannot have been put together in its final form before 1625, the year of the Hamilton Elegy. There is some reason then for regarding this poem as a late one. Its appearance in manuscript connects it with the Hymns rather than with the Songs and Sonnets.

In the discussion of Herbert Mr. Martz makes interesting comparisons between Herbert and Southwell and Herbert and Sidney, and calls attention to the importance of the versions of the Psalms made by Sidney and his sister. He shows Herbert as a master of the 'art of sacred parody' and, rightly I think, disputes the influence of Donne on *The Temple*. In his attempt to display in *The Temple* as a whole 'a structure based on the art of mental communion' he makes many valuable and suggestive comments, but, again, I boggle at the use of the word 'structure' in connexion with such shifting, slight, and often tenuous relations from poem to poem. I am also a little doubtful about his stress on 'mental communion', which seems to me to belong to a different conception of the Eucharist from that embodied in the Order for Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer and reflected in *A Priest to the Temple* or Taylor's *Holy Living*. I doubt whether 'communion images' are so frequent as is suggested in *The Temple* and do not myself, whenever 'board' or 'table' occur, immediately recognize a reference to the Communion Table. I confess I cannot take the opening line of 'The Collar' in this way and find the suggestion intolerable; and the comment on the following stanza from 'Affliction' (V) seems to me to neglect the main sense:

> There is but joy and grief;
> If either will convert us, we are thine:
> Some Angels used the first; if our relief
> Take up the second, then thy double line
> And sev'rall baits in either kinde
> Furnish thy table to thy minde.

'Joy and grief are aligned with the two species or kinds of the Communion table: "baits" being used in the old sense of food, along with the overtones of a fisherman's lure.' But what is then the sense of 'thy double line'? Surely the primary sense here is, like that of 'The Pulley', the divine stratagems by which the Lord's table will be 'furnished' with guests at his marriage feast (Matt. xxii. 10). If

there is reference to the Communion Table, that is the 'overtone' to the metaphor of the Divine Fisher of men, who has two lines and various sorts of baits, coming under the two heads of joy and grief. These draw us to his table and it is we who 'furnish' it to the Host's satisfaction. There is nothing to prevent a devout reader seeing in the bread of the altar a type of the 'bread of affliction' and in its wine a symbol of what 'maketh glad the heart of man'; but the main sense of the stanza points surely to the experiences of daily life through which God draws souls to Him.

Since Mr. Martz and I have been working over much the same ground, of necessity this review has concentrated on points of disagreement. My impression is that, as he proceeded, his original thesis became less adequate to his material. The value of his book is not, I think, in the light it attempts to throw on problems of literary history, such as the origins of the metaphysical style or the connexions between modern poetry and metaphysical, but in the widening of the context in which we are accustomed to read the religious poetry of the seventeenth century and in the added depth which many of the parallels from devotional works which he cites give to individual poems. HELEN GARDNER

George Sandys. Poet-Adventurer. By RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. Pp. 320. London: The Bodley Head, 1955. 30*s.* net.

George Sandys certainly deserves a full biography. Two of his books, the Travels and the translation of the *Metamorphoses*, proved outstandingly popular in the seventeenth century. His technique as a writer of the couplet was influential. He was a learned man, a man of affairs, and he had attractive friends. Moreover, all these activities were linked together and influenced one another in a way that is very impressive. Mr. Davis, a careful and enthusiastic inquirer, brings out this point admirably. He shows in detail how Sandys used his literary authorities to build up the *Relation* of his travels, and how the translations from Ovid which appear in the *Relation* reappear, sometimes unaltered, sometimes improved, in portions of the *Metamorphoses* which were only published years later. Gradually an idea of translating the whole of the Ovid must have taken shape in his mind; perhaps while he was still preparing his travel-book for the press. Then again, echoes of his experience in the Levant and Virginia sound in the commentaries to Ovid and his few original verses. Sandys himself refers to his labours on Ovid as a part, possibly the best part, of his Virginian adventure. 'Yet amongst the roreing of the seas, the rustling of the Shrowde, and Clamour of Saylers, I translated two bookes, and will perhaps when the swelling heat of the days confines me to my Chamber give furthere assaye.' The assay was made. It is only when, in spite of the most laborious research, nothing very positive can be said about certain episodes of Sandys's career, like his education and marriage, his appointment as Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, or, to a lesser extent, his years of retirement, that the account given here tends to be overladen with detail about a motley assembly of relatives and acquaintances: it will not do to push the crowds on to the stage just because the hero is unfortunately not to be found.

Almost half the book concerns Sandys and Virginian affairs, and makes an interesting contribution to the tangled history of the Virginia Company in London and its colony in America. In the course of time Sandys showed that he was not only a traveller and a scholar, nor merely a man with a vote. He began as one more relative brought in by his brother Sir Edwin to take a share in the company. By 1619 he could be nominated, though unsuccessfully, as a candidate for the Governorship of the Bermudas. He then played a part in the faction-fighting against the earl of Warwick and Sir Thomas Smith. In 1621 the company, under Sir Edwin's guidance, appointed his nephew-in-law Sir Francis Wyatt Governor of Virginia and his brother George Sandys resident Treasurer in the colony. Now to collect the company's rents in this remote tract of country, when independent and semi-independent settlements were beginning to alter the character of the company's status in its own plantation, at the same time promoting an ambitious policy of economic expansion by starting iron works, glass works, and other enterprises, was by no means the appointment for a weak man. The account of the poet's years in Virginia from 1621 to 1626, though again somewhat overweighted by information about anyone whose name happens to occur in the surviving correspondence, proves George Sandys a stout-hearted administrator. He was one of the handful who maintained order and restored confidence after the massacre of 1622. His criticisms of the company's policy show an independence of judgement which was not to be tamed by either Sir Francis Wyatt or Sir Edwin Sandys. Naturally, after 1626, he was considered one of the few experts in England on Virginian affairs, and was often consulted by government. He kept his private interests in the colony after returning, and it is a pity that we cannot learn a little more about his estate in Virginia and its value to him while he lived here. In his analysis of the company's history Mr. Davis deliberately questions the verdict of modern scholars in America on the character and opinions of Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir Francis Wyatt, and credits them with more radical and enlightened ideas than those of their opponents, not simply with a different interest. It is a tantalizing question, still worth further inquiry, but he does not show that such ideas had any perceptible influence on George Sandys himself.

The list of books, and editions of books, which Sandys must have used for the commentaries to the *Metamorphoses* and other works, and the study of his versification, particularly in the paraphrase of the Psalms, will be helpful to specialists. Yet it is more important that these pages give us a picture of Sandys himself, at once so gifted a writer and sympathetic a man. J. W. STOYE

The Polemic Character 1640–1661. A Chapter in English Literary History. By BENJAMIN BOYCE. Pp. xiv+160. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1955. $2.75.

Readers of Mr. Boyce's elegant and authoritative work *The Theophrastan Character* (Harvard, 1947) may remember that it concludes with a chapter called 'Outlying Territory'. 'Ship-money, conformity, war, and regicide are ahead of us', wrote the author, 'and the "Noble Cavalier Caracterised" will be set against

the "Rebellious Caviller Cauterised".' And he had a word to spare for Characters of a sort he had been at pains to exclude from the canon in the earlier part of his book, where he was interested in distinguishing between the genuine Theophrastan and what for various reasons merely looked like it. One of these degenerate Characters, the 'pamphlet-Character', which, we were told, 'after 1640 like a rank weed nearly choked out the cultivated species', figures largely in this new book.

We begin at the point when 'the Character ceased to be merely belles lettres and sallied forth to take part, not without dust and heat, in the struggles and public resentments of the nation'. Obviously we are to think of this little work as a kind of appendix to the standard *Theophrastan Character*; the material is admittedly not of high literary interest, and will be of more value to historians of the political, social, and religious controversies of the time than to amateurs of belles-lettres. 'More solid things', as Selden said, 'do not shew the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels.' These Characters certainly have that kind of value, and in fact are more entertaining than one expects polemic to be in the period of the Thomason collection. But, as Mr. Boyce says in a comment on Earle—who abandoned the Character in these troubled times to educate Prince Charles and translate the *Eikon Basilike* into Latin—'One will not discover fine art in the controversial Characters'.

Treating them first as literature, Mr. Boyce does for them what can be done, and that is far more than one might have expected. He distinguishes the main types of Character written during the period; the most notable are the frankly polemic and 'the subjective Character of an idealized type'. The first derives from Overbury, and is of course more Theophrastan than the second; an example is the Cavalier attack on the ignorant 'Schismatick'—'all his discourse is the sand of zeal bound together without the lime of reason; for he calls that humane Traditions, and protests the Brethren do not use it'. The second type is represented by Edward Symmons's 'A True English Protestant': he is a perfect Royalist, who 'sticks to the Protestation of Augsburge' and 'dares call his Soveraigne the Anointed of God, since God called Cyrus a Heathen so'. All the Characters retain something of the manner of Earle and Overbury, and indeed there is some plagiarism; but a new element was added after Cleveland's example of 1645, when the Character acquired the Clevelandism, or catachresis. Even the Puritans used it. But we are warned against assuming that there can be a simple description to cover the variety of styles employed by all sides in Characters which grew looser and looser in form, and were occasionally merely brisk anticipations of the modern journalistic 'profile', dealing not with types but with Cromwell, or the Duke of York, or Sir Arthur Haslerigg, the Church-Thief. The only well-known writer to emerge with an enhanced literary reputation from Mr. Boyce's inquiry is Richard Flecknoe; but even he had a part in that blurring of literary terminology which made the Plutarchan and Theophrastan traditions indistinguishable.

The second part of Mr. Boyce's book is of real value, despite his modest claim that it presents 'a cursory view of two extraordinary decades as seen by the writers of Characters and portraits'. It opens with useful observations on the

political and religious nomenclature of the time, and proceeds with the author's customary assurance and authority to consider the part of the Character (loosely defined) in all the disputes of the day. Many a more pretentious book has dealt less clearly and fairly with this complicated story. In printing as an Appendix the pamphlet of 1647 called 'What the Independents would have. Or, a Character, declaring some of their Tenents, etc.' by John Cook the regicide, the author has made easily available a remarkable plea for toleration which is at the same time a fine example of the Puritan 'credo-Character'. Honest and alert in its prose, it is an excellent specimen of that 'natural' writing that the Puritans generally preferred to what Mr. Boyce characteristically calls the Royalist 'superfetation of metaphors'.

The book ends with a short and suggestive study of the debt owed by *Hudibras* to Cavalier Characters. It will not be handled as often as its predecessor, perhaps; but it is considerably more important and useful than at first sight it appears.

FRANK KERMODE

John Milton. By KENNETH MUIR. Pp. x+196. London: Longmans, Green, 1955. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

The title of the series in which this volume appears is *Men and Books*, and the point of view this suggests is seen also in the opening sentence of the publisher's 'blurb': 'John Milton, besides being a great poet, was a representative figure of the age in which he lived.' Of Professor Muir's eight central chapters only three are devoted entirely to Milton's poetry; he gives nearly as much attention to the prose works, and possibly more to the summary and discussion of Milton's biography. As a result of this distribution of emphasis Milton's personality looms unexpectedly large throughout the book; for we do not stand as far back from it in the poems as we might have hoped. The personal approach to the poetry is not indeed the only one possible, but it is that which many modern critics make, and to which Mr. Muir has to give most space. Perhaps the pervasive presence of Milton's personality accounts for an impression that Mr. Muir protests too much on the poet's behalf. But the attitude of defence is probably inevitable. It is always possible to worship Milton; it can never have been easy to like him. More obstacles than before have now been set in the way of our admiration; the difficulty of simple affection therefore emerges more sharply, and the biographer and critic cannot but feel the problems thus set him.

Such a book as this is indeed a difficult task for a scholar of Mr. Muir's serious temper; and, despite the criticisms one must inevitably make, he has done it with remarkable success. He has brought to the writing of a book for the general reader a store of erudition which that reader is not likely to be able to appreciate fully, but which pays him an implicit compliment. The only criticism one can make here is that the mass of detail sometimes demands in the reader a power of discrimination which he may not possess. It would perhaps have been better to draw the line more firmly between what is really relevant and those minor points which are worth mentioning only in a footnote. For instance, is it necessary to our appreciation of *Lycidas* to be told parenthetically that Edward King

secured his Cambridge fellowship 'by political influence'? If the matter is to be mentioned it should be set in relation to the general practice of the time. Again, in discussing the *Eikonoklastes* Mr. Muir makes heavy weather over Milton's attack on King Charles's use of a prayer from the *Arcadia*; indeed, he 'condemns' Milton, although (he adds) 'there is no reason to believe, as some have argued, that Milton himself inserted the prayer in a specially printed edition of the *Eikon Basilike*, so that he could jeer at it' (p. 86). But if there is no reason to believe it, why is the picturesque fiction granted admission to a work of this kind?

These little blemishes are the defects of Mr. Muir's virtues, which are a truly scholarly humility and an earnest desire to do justice to all opinions. In dealing with a subject where partisanship has always been active, this scrupulous open-mindedness is precious; but its exercise has proved so strenuous that the critic sometimes seems to have reached exhaustion before coming to certain points where a final effort of perception or judgement was required. His publishers claim that Mr. Muir has 'attempted to answer some of the criticisms levelled against Milton's poetry by recent writers'. But once more he errs in the direction of excess: he attempts to consider too many such criticisms. The result is that too often he merely reproduces them, without succeeding in making an effective answer. His method is rather to admit their substance, and then to see what he can say for Milton in spite of these admissions.

Thus in the concluding remarks on *Paradise Lost*, a number of sweeping 'admissions' introduce some less vivid counter-arguments (p. 163). But one may notice earlier how compulsive other people's opinions are for Mr. Muir. What evidence has he, for example, for the startling assertion that 'Milton's powers were declining by the time he wrote the concluding books' of *Paradise Lost* (p. 143)? The only evidence is that several modern critics, whose views he has mentioned, have said that these last books are disappointing, or inferior, or 'pessimistic' (whatever this word may mean as a comment on a Christian vision of history). But a positive reply could be made (and Mr. Muir even suggests it on p. 162) that the full greatness of Milton's conception only appears in the last books of his poem. Here for the first time he comes to look at the world, at history, as we know it. Here we are to have his completed vision of human nature and destiny, its tragic inadequacy and its religious hope. The momentousness of the subdued emotions—and the judgements and opinions—here brought together and earnestly explained, should impress us. Like the *Aeneid*, *Paradise Lost* is a prophetic poem, a vision of world-history, and if we cannot recognize its intellectual interest because of its Christian content, our appreciation is irreparably damaged. Keats dismissed Milton's intellectual grasp with a patronizing Cockney radicalism, and the modern anti-Miltonists unite in ignoring the mere possibility that Milton should be discussed as a philosophical poet like Lucretius or Leopardi—that the content of his great works has that *kind* of intellectual solidity and distinction. The want of some such positive and simplifying point of view is the chief defect of Mr. Muir's otherwise admirable study.

F. T. PRINCE

The Diary of John Evelyn. Edited by E. S. DE BEER. Vol. I, pp. xiv+172; Vol. II, pp. viii+580; Vol. III, pp. x+640; Vol. IV, pp. x+654; Vol. V, pp. viii+624; Vol. VI, pp. viii+630. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. £15. 15*s*. net.

This is the complete *Kalendarium*, as Evelyn called it. It is completely annotated and introduced, and magnificently indexed. To say that it is an Oxford English Text is to say that production could not be bettered. There are sixteen illustrations, including four portraits of Evelyn, one of his wife, and one of Mrs. Godolphin, eight specimens of Evelyn's handwriting, a plan of the first floor of Whitehall Palace, and a very interesting one of the westward growth of London.

Volume I contains Introductions on Evelyn's Life and Character and on the Diary, the text of *De Vita Propria* which is Evelyn's 'secondary recension of the early part of the Diary' (i.e. to 1644), a list of Evelyn's published writings, full genealogical tables and informative tables of contemporary history. Volumes II to V contain the *Kalendarium*. Volume VI contains the Index (592 pages) with preliminary matter and a few pages of additions and corrections which were found necessary during the three-year labour of compiling the Index.

The *Kalendarium* contains about 560,000 words, of which the first edition (Bray, 1818) printed only about 305,000 and the second (1819) and subsequent editions about 313,000. Bray selected what he thought would make an interesting or entertaining book not without moral value. He omitted what he thought dull or unsuitable for the drawing-room (such as the detailed and vivid account of a cutting for the stone) or of purely private concern for the Evelyn family. He also altered the text to improve it or more often to shorten it, a process which sometimes falsified the sense. He evidently did not want to produce too big a book and slashed some of the later years very thoroughly. Unlike Mr. de Beer's, his work was not intended primarily for scholars, though it might 'give some hints to Biographers'. He intended it for the Memoir class, a form of light reading more respectable than the novel.

Mr. de Beer, with sterner intentions, has produced a work which, even as light reading, is better than Bray's. Bray left out most of Evelyn's notes on meetings of the Royal Society. If they add little to what is already known from the Society's published minutes, they are interesting enough in this context, and their recurrence emphasizes that side of Evelyn's character. Similarly the notes on the sermons Evelyn heard are essential to understanding the man. Religion and Science, God and God's works, were his deepest concerns. Bray also omitted, probably not understanding them, many scores of short references in the years 1672–8 to Margaret Blagge (Mrs. Godolphin), who is usually indicated by a pentacle. Another side of Evelyn incompletely revealed in Bray's editions is his family affection. The vivid account (31 December 1654) of his two-year-old child being almost choked by a piece of mutton-bone was doubtless omitted as trivial—including, of course, Evelyn's sketch of the piece of bone.

Evelyn in the full text is the same royalist, Anglican, well-to-do gentleman and virtuoso as in the abridged text, but he is seen more in the round and, to me at least, is a more sympathetic figure.

Mr. de Beer makes it clear from internal evidence that the *Kalendarium* up to

1684 was written up from previous notes. The first main recension was shortly after the Restoration, the second shortly before the real diary begins in 1684. He used existing guides or travel-books when working on his accounts of his visits abroad. After 1684 his diary also contains mentions of public events based on newspapers. The chronicle element does not stifle the human: 'I was exceedingly drowsie, The Lord forgive' (10 July 1687, at a sermon). It is clear, however, that much of the *Kalendarium* has not the immediacy of Pepys's diary: but would Pepys, if he had worked over his diary twenty years later, have left in quite all the tit-bits? Evelyn, living now, would have written it up in the form of autobiographical memoirs, and, in fact, *De Vita Propria* (dated about 1700 by Mr. de Beer) is the first instalment of precisely that.

Mr. de Beer has annotated the text—below the page, and how thankful one is not to have to be continually turning to the end. There are about 12,000 notes, mostly on persons, places, events, things, or words. Only very rarely has the editor to say 'I cannot trace'. It is a marvel of sustained and successful scholarly devotion. When all this was done, there was still the Index to make. This is so full that for some purposes one could almost use it instead of the diary. Under ENGLAND, sub-heading 'weather', sub-sub-heading 'chronological series', we find a summary of Evelyn's notes from 1647 to 1706, sixty years of weather which seems just as varied as in the present century. It is worth while searching the Index for what is not there, i.e. for what Evelyn was not interested in. A notable absentee is poetry. Milton appears, but as a controversialist: Dryden, but as a playwright: some of 'Cowleys Pieces which shew'd extreamely well' were heard to music (and, of course, Cowley's *The Garden* was addressed to Evelyn), but there is no other reference to the poems of 'that incomparable Poet, & Virtuous Man, my very dear friend and greatly deplored &c.'. Waller is seen rather as a public figure. There is no reference in the text to the poetry of Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan, or Herrick. This fact also helps us to see Evelyn in the round. Evelyn's own little poems were, Pepys tells us, 'not transcendant'. Again, though Evelyn was interested enough in public events and knew everyone who was anyone, he was not a politician. His world and the world of Marvell's satires are totally different. In this Index PARLIAMENT occupies only 6½ pages (LONDON has 31½).

This full edition with its Index will be a godsend to innumerable scholars seeking little bits of detailed information; but its chief importance is not for such details or for events. As the publishers claim the 'Diary is a major authority for the culture and the religious and social life of the later half of the seventeenth century'. Bray also suggested that it might 'gratify the curiosity of those who are inquisitive after the mode in which their ancestors conducted business, or passed their time'. But, if the curiosity is more than idle, it cannot be gratified by a text drastically abridged and not infrequently falsified: Mr. de Beer's labours of a quarter of a century have put all that right. H. M. MARGOLIOUTH

Swift. An Introduction. By RICARDO QUINTANA. Pp. x+204. London: Cumberlege, 1955. 21s. net.

When his standard work, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, was reissued in

1953, Professor Quintana announced that his perception of Swift had somewhat changed since he wrote that book in 1936, and promised that he would return to the subject. That promise is now fulfilled in his new *Introduction*, a much shorter book though similar in scope to the former, which, during twenty years, has been one of the main sources of the more sympathetic understanding of Swift now prevalent among informed readers. Obviously then, his latest book, in its combination of brevity and acknowledged authority, will be attractive and useful to novices. More seasoned scholars will want to know how his former views have been modified.

From one aspect the book may be regarded as primarily an up-to-date supplement to *The Mind and Art*, 'substantially a résumé of modern scholarship and criticism concerned with Swift', as the author modestly describes it, rating his own contributions as inconsiderable. Thus he acknowledges the benefits to latter-day scholarship of the editorial labours of Mr. Herbert Davis and Sir Harold Williams and has been at pains to revise his chapter on Swift's later Irish tracts in the light of advance information of the material in Davis's latest volume. In emphasizing Swift's realism about the state of Ireland he has also made good use of articles by Landa and Wittkowsky to demonstrate more effectively than he did before how well Swift knew the mercantilist writings of the day and the new science of political arithmetic. The apparent emotional frigidity of *A Modest Proposal* is a calculated effect, achieved by parodying the scientific impersonality of such tracts. Likewise his insistence on Swift's sincerity as a clergyman and the importance of his churchmanship as a controlling motive at every stage of his career was fortified by access to the proofs of Landa's recent book on Swift and the Church of Ireland. In such ways he has served the student well.

But the book has more to offer than punctilious compilation, and his personal contributions are the most interesting parts, not less so because his attempt to look afresh at Swift's achievement has been prompted by more recent studies. He now realizes more fully than formerly Swift's stature as a conscious literary artist, taking the historical approach to his art, as he did before to his mind. There has been so much discussion in recent years, some of it rather special pleading, about Swift's assumption of fictitious characters as rhetorical modes of working upon his readers that we must be grateful for this acute summing up of the case for it. Quintana had himself been an important pleader in his article on 'situational satire' in Swift,[1] and the matter is clinched here in two of the most rewarding sections of the book, his extensive analyses of the literary craftsmanship of *A Tale of a Tub* and of *Gulliver's Travels*. In the first place, as he points out, Swift's contempt for all the modern pretenders to wit and piety is explicit in his early poems; some of the matter as well as something of the imagery of the *Tale* appear there and his attitude was fostered by the knowledge of affairs, the learning, and the culture that he met with in the circle of Sir William Temple. That formative period gave him also a social attitude which persisted throughout his career as a confirmed anti-romanticism. But the sudden advance in literary art

[1] 'Situational Satire: A Commentary on the Method of Swift', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, xvii (1948), 130–6.

that we find in the *Tale* is to be explained by none of these circumstances. It was due to Swift's own discovery, as Quintana convincingly demonstrates, of the dramatic method for satirical writing. The elements of the method, like so much of his conservative thought, were rooted in the period of the Restoration, in which he grew up. The prevalence of social satire in the *Tale* has been too seldom stressed, and Quintana opens up an important line of inquiry by claiming that the prevailing spirit of the *Tale* is that of the comedy of manners. *The Battle of the Books*, by contrast, proceeds by the method of epic parody. Here again, it seems to me, Swift was giving a special twist to contemporary literature, for the style of the latter piece is at times a mockery of Dryden's manner as translator, the epic similes, for instance, being lines of unrhymed heroic verse parading as prose.

Quintana somewhat abates his former claim that the brilliance of the *Tale* is unsurpassed by Swift's other works. While expertly tracing the skill in organization that runs beneath all its complexity of manner, he is ready to admit that Swift overreached himself in his 'excessive cleverness of invention'. That is the reason perhaps why readers have always been daunted and often misled by this exuberant early satire. *Gulliver's Travels*, on the other hand, he rightly restores to its place as the finer work of art, one of the great masterpieces of eighteenth-century comic writing. At the centre of it, acting and being acted upon, is Gulliver; and Gulliver is not Swift, but a fully realized character through which Swift's view of the world is given an ironic refraction. It is the comedy of an intelligent, inquisitive, normal Englishman (designedly humourless, it should be added), who comes to self-knowledge through a series of situations which are not of his own making. But Quintana does not mention what seems to me the ultimate irony, the piquant climax of the comedy, that Gulliver, a decent, tolerant sort of fellow to begin with, has become at the end of his self-revealing adventures a worse man than he was. The simple-thoughted, resourceful ship's surgeon ends up as the disdainful eccentric, isolated in his new self-conceit and admiration for horses, and incapacitated by hatred, disgust, and contempt for the society of his fellow men.

There are now these two comprehensive studies of Swift by the same scholar and it is not easy to decide which of them is to be preferred. The author's general conclusions have not changed. Swift is presented as a sane and searching representative of his age, not a strange eccentric setting himself apart in bitterness and hatred of mankind. When he turns his satire against contemporary values it is because he was both a conservative, looking back to the seventeenth century, and a moral realist who held to the Christian doctrine of the sinful state of man in despite of the more benevolent view that was becoming fashionable in his age. His attitude as man and moralist and his art as a satirist have both been misunderstood because he has been too often judged, and frequently indicted, by the tenets of a later Romanticism. These guiding principles for the student of Swift are set forth with admirable precision in the chapter on 'Aspects of Swift' and in the impressively succinct Epilogue. The *Introduction* is a useful book, but perhaps less so than *The Mind and Art*. In structure it is simpler, though it still involves some wasteful repetition of biographical matter, and the style is everywhere crisp and compact, never breathless or lapsing into unmannerly

abruptness. The only sign of haste or carelessness is in the number of misprints. There are at least a dozen major ones, most of them in the quotations; Queen Anne's death is wrongly dated 1713 (p. 113) and the title of Temple's best known essay is strangely altered to *Upon Ancient and Modern Literature* (p. 6).

Both books must be read by every serious student of Swift, but the earlier one is much better value for money. It is more than twice as long, all of it sound and, apart from textual matters, none of it outmoded. Yet it costs no more than its little brother. It is a great pity that so helpful an Introduction could not have been brought within the means of the impecunious modern student by publishing it in a cheap series such as the Home University Library.

COLIN J. HORNE

W. P. KER

The Dark Ages. By W. P. KER. Pp. xviii+361. London: Nelson, 1955. 15*s.* net.

W. P. Ker's *Dark Ages*, here issued in a second edition to mark the centenary of the author's birth, was first published in 1904 and made a deep impression in the academic world. It was the first volume, though the second to appear, of *Periods of European Literature* edited by George Saintsbury. The scheme postulated a sort of European solidarity and aimed to give a complete view of European literature from the earliest Middle Ages. It worked well for those centuries when most of Europe was tributary to France alike in scholarship and works of imagination, less satisfactorily as we approach modern times, and in this the earliest period only to a limited extent. We have to take account of two independent lines, one the inheritor of Classical tradition, and a second northern element, Celtic and Teutonic, unrelated to the former and much more vigorous in development. The author distinguishes these disparate elements with suitable emphasis and discusses them with the knowledge of one who was master of the material in both. The Celtic and Anglo-Saxon contribution was influenced by Latin scholarship, the Scandinavian less so, but all preserve in essence their native character and it was in them that important imaginative work was active. On the other hand impulses from them penetrated the other field, not only the scholarship which came from Ireland and later from England, but also the heroic ideal of the northern poetry made its way into the chroniclers and beyond (as in *Waltharius*) and is the most vital thing in them. For this reason it is stated in the last sentence of this book that 'the chief imaginative work of the early period' was the heroic poetry, but Ker would have included *Roland* with the rest.

The Dark Ages as here defined by the author is the period from the fifth to the eleventh century. Though Italy was under the heel of Theodoric one may doubt if there is much that is dark about the time of Boethius (or even Cassiodorus), or at the other end that of Alcuin, Theodulfus, and John the Scot. Ausonius does not appear, but there is a good deal about the Latin verse of St. Ambrose of the fourth century. At the lower end at all events the division is determined by the emergence in poetry of something new in form and matter

which remains the governing principle of modern times. Ker insists continually on the importance of this new beginning which came 'with hardly a warning' in the rhymes of William Count of Poitou, and which includes every modern poet (pp. 6 ff.), but in these pages he is chiefly engaged with the strangeness of Teutonic measures to the modern ear, and the lengthy discussion of Latin rhythm, especially the new forms in popular Latin verse, may be cited as a needful corrective.

The longest chapter is on 'Latin Authors' and the material is considerable. The verse is copious but of little significance, early or late. There are some pretty trifles in Venantius Fortunatus and others, also a few with the religious note such as *Jam mæsta quiesce querela* by Prudentius which is not a trifle, yet the new Latin religious verse at that time was only stirring. We need not undervalue the solemn and moving simplicity of St. Ambrose's *Æterne rerum conditor* while admitting that the great things come much later. The prose is more important and illustrates even better Ker's exhaustive knowledge and power of sympathetic commentary. Worthy of note is his estimate of Gregory the Great, whose *Dialogues* represent 'the common mind of the sixth century' (p. 137), and still more the striking account of Boethius and his profound influence on the Middle Ages. The chroniclers and their stories often touched with the heroic spirit gave him much delight, more particularly Ekkehard and Paulus Diaconus 'who had it in him to write a Lombard Prose Edda' (p. 169). Chapter IV deals with the Northern contribution, and the strong impression made upon Ker by Scandinavian poetry (not to mention the sagas) is immediately apparent. The poetry has twice the space given to the Anglo-Saxon. In both cases his judgements may provoke occasional dissent but they are always lively, interesting, and instructive, based on knowledge and insight. Celtic verse and prose is described (with other things) in a brief concluding chapter.

Throughout, ample evidence appears of enormous reading and an amazing memory. He has not missed much which explains or illustrates author or subject. Many have remarked on his gift of illustrating both from ancient and modern literature, fewer on the clear light brought to each by the association. His are not superficial estimates. He goes deep down to the springs of imagination and emotion. This book is more than just an account of the Dark Ages, witness in the third section of Chapter II his discussion of the sources of awe and wonder. No one can read it without a feeling of admiration at the width and accuracy of his learning and the sanity of a judgement which keeps an eye on the facts. If this method of criticism is dead and out of date it is past time it was resuscitated.

R. GIRVAN

On Modern Literature. Lectures and addresses. By W. P. KER. Edited by TERENCE SPENCER and JAMES SUTHERLAND. Pp. xviii+282. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. 35*s.* net.

These hitherto unprinted lectures will make any reader of an older generation sigh, without implying any derogation of the scholars of today, 'There were giants in those days!' Whereas the pundits of this age might say with Bacon, 'It is the propertie of good and sound knowledge to putrifie and dissolue into a

number of subtile, idle, vnholesome, and (as I may tearme them) vermiculate questions', Ker and his coevals tried to see literature broadly, and see it whole, as written by men with fire in their bellies and delight in their heads. Who now might, as Ker did, connect 'Tam o' Shanter' with *Le Neveu de Rameau?* With all respect be it said, what authority on medieval literature could give us such rich essays on authors ranging from 'Hudibras' Butler to Trollope, taking in his stride poets and novelists, not to mention Burke (relating him to Wordsworth)? 'Not to judge abstractly'—how heretical that sounds today! To bring the reader 'into actual contact with the things themselves' was for him the object of criticism; 'that after all is the main thing'—not to compress into categories, to explain, to evaluate, to seek absolute concrete standards (whatever this unseizable will-o'-the-wisp may mean). Even the present editors complain, 'but too often in Ker . . . we ask for bread and are fed with a quotation'. He gave, in fact, bread, not a paper bagful of processed flour. Ker took no pleasure in vermiculate questions: enough to have knowledge sufficient to appraise a miracle. 'Great poems are miraculous; like everything which is individual, they are transgressions of scientific laws, and irreducible to formulas.'

That from a lecture on 'Progress in Poetry' which together with others on Criticism, on Culture, on Comedy, succeeds those on individual writers. And how healthy the sentiment is, based on reading which seems almost impossibly far-ranging. But then, as his editors say, 'In his own reading Ker was not one of the gross feeders, rooting among the mast and potato parings of literature. He seems, indeed, to have been no great believer in "all such reading as was never read".' How fortunate, we may think, to have lived in an age when going outward not diving inward seemed the more enriching thing to do! The result was, not a wrestling with the ineluctable problems which are the concern of the creative writer, but a happy appreciation of the outcome. When, for example, he glances for a moment at the constructional struggles of the novelists during the nineteenth century, he ends:

> After all these years, however, after all the various experiments of the laborious or the daring novelists of the century, what if it should prove on examination that the most successful solution was found before Scott, Thackeray, and Dickens, before Hugo and Balzac, before Flaubert and Turgenev, by a young lady who made no more of her vocation than if it had been sewing or knitting?

Jane Austen's triumph is due to intelligence, 'such a vivid understanding of the fabric of life that the representation of this fabric is itself kept moving and changing like life itself'. Ker, in short, rejoiced in literature because it gave an enhanced sense of this fabric of life. His motto might have been, 'Only connect'.

You do not feel as you read Ker, in this volume or in any other of his works, that he is vowed to any dogma or doctrine, or committed to a passionate idolatry of any particular author or authors. He can write, 'It is not unjust to say that there is a great deal of twaddle in Coleridge's early blank verse', and can be admirably level-headed about Wordsworth, whom he enormously loved and admired. The whole of this lecture, with its brilliant *aperçus* about Wordsworth's

lawlessness, might well serve as a corrective to the 'great deal of twaddle' that is talked about him, especially as regards his relation to the eighteenth century. Not that these lectures pretend to cover the whole ground with respect to any author. If he gives a fairly complete view of Burns or Crabbe, is illuminating about Burke, bravely defends the solidity of Keats, when talking about Milton, for instance, he confines himself to one particular aspect, his classicism. But always there is what you might call the reaching out of tentacles, the suggestion, or more, of some helpful generalization, to set whomsoever he is talking about in focus; he will use, but not be a slave to, the historical approach.

We must be grateful to those who have made possible this rescue of papers or shorthand recordings of lectures, and especially to the editors for their labours. The tracing and the noting of Ker's references and quotations from the Book of Daniel to his own day must in itself have been no mean task, indicative of almost as wide a reading as Ker's own. It is a book to retire to for serenity and comfort, bringing back as it does those days when, to adapt a phrase of G. M. Young's, 'literature was a subject for discussion among one's friends, whereas now it has become matter for examinations'. BONAMY DOBRÉE

Articulate Energy. An Inquiry into the Syntax of English Poetry. By DONALD DAVIE. Pp. vii+173. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. 18*s.* net.

In this stimulating book Dr. Davie follows up his *Purity of Diction in English Verse* with an inquiry into poetic syntax. He begins by examining the theories of T. E. Hulme, Susanne Langer, and Ernest Fenollosa, who have all been influential in recent years, and who have all had something to say directly or indirectly about the function of syntax in poetry.

T. E. Hulme, according to Dr. Davie, exemplifies 'syntax as unpoetical'; poetry should come in concentrated packs, and its prime characteristic should be the image, the 'intensive manifold', not the spread-out articulated argument or 'extensive manifold' where syntax would come into its own. The typical Imagist poem, whether as short as Ezra Pound's

> The apparition of these faces in the crowd;
> Petals on a wet, black bough,

or as long as the same author's *Cantos*, which employs a largely Imagist technique, is therefore non-syntactical. Dr. Davie is concerned to underline the insufficiencies of both Hulme's theory and the Imagist movement. His argument here is rather jumpy and perfunctory, and he starts too many hares by the way (Hofmannsthal, Elizabeth Sewell, T. C. Pollock) without referring to something as relevant to his own thesis as Hulme's general aim of 'destroying the principle of *continuity*' or to remarks like '*Smoothness*. Hate it. This is the obsession that starts all my theories.'

The treatment of Mrs. Langer's ideas is more comfortable. Here we have 'syntax as music': the poem is articulated, but its meaning lies only in this articulation and not in the ideas or statements articulated. A poem is a pattern, but

not an assertion; it does not 'express something', although it is 'expressive'. In the light of these conceptions, poetry may be articulated without the use of normal syntax—so long as a music, a pattern, a resolution of dissonances is felt by the reader over the whole poem; and as Dr. Davie points out, Pound's *Cantos* will be an example of 'syntax as music' if we can see the work as a pattern of ideas and themes, even though it is not patterned through sentence-structure, grammatical relation, and sequentiality. Dr. Davie, it seems to me, is very right in pointing out the flaw in Mrs. Langer's view of poetry, which might have been written to fit the work of Wallace Stevens but will not easily fit anyone else's. To her, as she admits, 'all poetry is a creation of illusory events, even when it looks like a statement of opinions'. Dr. Davie adds, 'And so, when the poet uses the syntactical form of the logical proposition, this form is empty, phantasmal, a sleight of hand.' We are back, in fact, at the solemn game.

Ernest Fenollosa, with his 'syntax as action', comes nearest of the three to advocating anything like an everyday syntax for poetry . For him, the basic unit was a transitive sentence consisting of agent/act/object. Poetry was a drama of action and concreteness; the verb was the king of forms; the Chinese language was unusually poetic because its ideograms enshrined (visibly or historically) real things and actions. Dr. Davie looks with favour on Fenollosa, and criticizes him chiefly for his over-simplification. He shows, in a discussion of poetry by Sidney, Daniel, and Shakespeare, that Fenollosa's formula of the transitive sentence and 'successive thought' will not always work, and that sometimes the verb may be justifiably evaded. Nevertheless, the importance of an undisguised and undistanced syntacticality was established—even if 'it has not yet exerted the influence it deserves'.

In the remainder of the book Dr. Davie suggests a classification of various kinds of poetic syntax ('subjective', 'dramatic', 'objective', 'like music', 'like mathematics') and examines among other things the blank verse of Wordsworth's *Prelude*, the rejection of free verse and broken syntax by Yeats, and the legacy of the Symbolists in modern poetry. The classification is interesting without being persuasively necessary. Dr. Davie does not tackle the central difficulties, or put forward a unifying conception. An examination of Milton's syntax, for example, would have set a very large cat among these pigeons. C. M. Doughty's verse also raises a number of questions not dealt with here: as, for instance, why should such an anti-metaphorical, anti-symbolist poet, such a devotee of 'purity of diction', evolve such a distorted syntax? Many of Dr. Davie's remarks on individual writers and poems, however, are perceptive, witty, and new. They include a striking and nice comparison between Ezra Pound's 'The Gypsy' and Wordsworth's 'Stepping Westward'.

The last chapter, called 'The Reek of the Human', is a well-timed attempt to lead literary theory away from the widely held assumption of poetry's autonomy. Dr. Davie boldly directs us to Wordsworth's 'Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman', and says of it:

> It takes on meaning only as it is open to another world; unless it refers to that other 'real' world, it is meaningless. Its syntax articulates not just itself, not only its own world, but the world of common experience.

It will be seen that this book reflects, in criticism, certain changes that have already taken place in English poetry during the last decade: the rejection of the supremacy of the image, the return to regular forms both of stanza and of syntax, the reintroduction of sequential argument. It is not a detached inquiry into poetic syntax, but a plea for the recognition of the importance of syntax, in the face of a tenacious 'old guard' of imagery and symbolism . Its own articulation, as an argument, leaves something to be desired, for it is a bitty book that has not quite been seen as a whole; but Dr. Davie writes lucidly, and his dry light throws the contemporary literary situation (and parts of the past) into a new relief. The study is not only interesting in itself, but is a reading in the graph of taste.

EDWIN MORGAN

A History of French Literature. By L. CAZAMIAN. Pp. xiv+464. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. 30*s.* net.

A History of French Literature is less an account of writers and their works than of various abstractions such as 'the French sensibility', 'the French consciousness', 'the French imagination', which M. Cazamian attributes to a mythical entity, 'the mind of France'. It is this mind, composed mainly of classical but also of romantic elements, which, according to the author, is the creative force in French literature. Writers are purely passive instruments, whose role consists in responding to the rhythm of the French genius and in meeting its needs and demands. Consequently, individual works of art, instead of being considered on their own merits, are viewed as so many tokens of instinctive trends towards a preordained end. The Classical Age was bound to come, for 'its coming was demanded by the inner rhythm of the French mind'; the Romantic Mood was no less inevitable for, after a brief period of enlightenment and rationalism, new elements began to assert themselves, and writers again obeyed by expressing 'the deeper needs of a collective soul'. Rousseau, in particular, was 'the instrument of fate'; but, as M. Cazamian adds, 'if he had never written, his work would have been accomplished piecemeal by others and the course of literature would not have been very different'—a remark that could, within this thesis, be applied to every other writer in this book. Alfred de Musset, surprisingly, proved to be a remarkably effective servant of the collective soul. In his lyrics, classical and romantic elements combined to produce 'the synthetic triumph that French poets had been seeking instinctively from the earliest time of classicism'. As M. Cazamian approaches more recent times, he experiences some difficulty in fitting French literature, especially Symbolism and Surrealism, into his pattern. All apparent deviations are, however, explained away by an appeal to 'cyclical laws', and by endowing the French mind with a subconscious wise enough to understand the requirements of the national tradition.

As one might expect, comments on individual writers are vitiated by this naïve belief in the 'spontaneous development' of French literature. For M. Cazamian, the mark of the true genius is spontaneity—a quality he finds in (among others) Villon, Amyot, Du Bellay, Montaigne, Mme de Sévigné (who has *absolute* spontaneity), Hugo, and Colette. Even the great writers of the Classical Age are

judged by the same criterion, for the spirit of classicism—with all its disciplined expression—was inherent in their nature and 'bred in the bone'. Wherever he can find evidence of spontaneity, M. Cazamian is enthusiastically uncritical; where he cannot he is baffled, as is apparent in his observations on Stendhal, Balzac, Flaubert, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Valéry, and Proust.

M. Cazamian's command of the English language is almost flawless (although 'winning' and 'taking' used to describe a work of art strike an odd note) and the apology he makes for using it is superfluous. But the comparisons he suggests between various French and English authors—Marguerite de Navarre and Donne, Du Bellay and Keats, Louise Labé and Mrs. Browning, Montaigne and Pater, Chateaubriand and Hardy—seem rather gratuitous.

It is disappointing to be forced to the conclusion that M. Cazamian, who with Émile Legouis in *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* rendered valuable service to students of English literature, has failed in this book to do as much for the literature of his own country. This task has in fact been accomplished more ably by other French critics, notably by Bédier and Hazard, and M. René Jasinski; and, recently, in this country by Mr. Brereton. C. A. HACKETT

Studies in Bibliography. Vol. VII. Edited by FREDSON BOWERS. Pp. 240. Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1955. $6.

Though a third of this volume is devoted to problems dealing with the printing of Shakespeare's plays, the editor is to be congratulated on the scope and variety of the contributions included in these *Studies in Bibliography* from the University of Virginia. Everyone should find something to his taste from the admirably illustrated account of 'Parisian Panel Stamps between 1480 and 1530' by Ernst Kyriss to the 'Abstracts from the Wills and Estates of Boston Printers, 1800–1825' by Rollo G. Silver, from which we get a lot of useful information about the equipment of the printing-houses. W. Miller's investigation of a stock of ornaments used by a succession of London printers from 1598–1683 is an excellent attempt to continue the work of Plomer and McKerrow and provide further means of dating books issued by those presses. There is new material about the work and the relationships of this group of printers; and the illustrations of the ornaments and initials they used and the list of books in which they occur will be invaluable for reference. I can find, however, no indication of the date of the particular ornament from which the illustration was made, unless we are to assume that it is taken from the earliest example listed; but the statement that the 'newest and clearest printing of each Decoration has been chosen' might mean something else. This method of reproduction can never be quite satisfactory for this purpose, and it would not be safe to draw any conclusions from the state of an ornament without going back to the book itself. It is surely also necessary to be very careful to distinguish between wood and metal ornaments, and not enough to give us warning in such vague terms as these: 'I sense an increasing use of metal cast ornaments in this period which means that several printers could own identical decorations.' Nothing could be more important

than to find out exactly when we need to be on our guard against cast ornaments which could not be distinguished from one another.

Contributions to publishing history will be found in the articles of Cyprian Blagden on the missing Term Catalogue for Michaelmas 1695; of A. T. Hazen on the Booksellers' 'Ring' at Strawberry Hill in 1842; and of Robert L. Hay on the circulation of some London Newspapers 1806–11, obtained from memoranda among the papers of the Treasury Solicitor, which are preserved in the Public Record Office.

Robert Liddell Lowe prints for the first time fourteen letters of Matthew Arnold to P. W. Bunting, the editor of the *Contemporary Review*. Curt F. Bühler describes the original sheets of a Valerius Maximus, dated 1671, and shows the way in which it was imposed as a 24mo., gathered in eights. Bruce Harkness discusses the precedence of the 1676 editions of Milton's *Letters of State*.

Vinton A. Dearing discusses the case for authorial revision in Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* and challenges the editors of the two new editions of Dryden to deal with 'this new and at first glance intractable body of data'. William B. Todd gives a very convincing account of the quadruple imposition of Goldsmith's *Traveller* which provides a final solution of the problems raised by the unique copy of the *Traveller*, consisting of a series of 4to half-sheets. This was discovered by Bertram Dobell, who produced a facsimile edition in 1902. It was then entitled *A Prospect of Society*; and a small edition of the original version was reconstructed by Mr. Todd and printed by the Water Lane Press, Cambridge, in 1954.

The remaining studies are an important indication of the growing interest in the investigation of the habits of particular compositors, led by the paper on 'Compositor Determination and other Problems in Shakespearean Texts', submitted by Dr. Alice Walker to the English Institute in September 1954. Some may feel that this is a dangerous tendency rather like that attacked by A. E. Housman in his strictures upon those textual critics who gave up the attempt to understand the mind of their author, and devoted themselves entirely to a study of the habits of scribes. But no one who reads carefully these two articles of Dr. Alice Walker should fail to realize that this further study of one of the most important steps in the transmission of the text—the work of the compositor in transferring it from whatever copy he has been given to the type in the stick—may indeed protect us from too much reliance upon any copy-text, and enable us intelligently to recognize the necessity for emendation, and leave us free 'to give Shakespeare the benefit of any doubt'. We feel, moreover, considerable confidence in one who never forgets that the conditions under which the compositors worked were by no means always the same; and that ultimately 'we can only guess what caused this apparent inequality of workmanship in Folio texts'.

The possibility of studying the habits of the compositor at a particular press is shown in the examination by John Russell Brown of the work of the two compositors employed by James Roberts, who set the copy of the *Merchant of Venice* in 1600 and the Q2 *Hamlet* in 1604/5. From the evidence afforded by other books printed in these years in the same type in Roberts's printing house, Mr. Brown is able to draw certain conclusions about the extent to which they followed their

copy in spelling and punctuation. Incidentally he points out that some unusual spellings in *Hamlet*, which Professor Dover Wilson thought might indicate Shakespeare's orthography, occur in these other books, and are therefore not peculiar to the copy-text of the Q2 *Hamlet*. A detailed account of the printing of this Quarto, based on the evidence of the running titles and the spelling tests for compositors, is set out by Professor Bowers, who considers almost every conceivable possibility in making his final hypothesis, so that one hesitates to cavil at any detail. But while accepting his interpretation of the evidence and his division of the sheets between the two compositors, which shows that at one point X assisted his companion, it does not seem to me that this necessarily proves that Y was a slower and poorer workman. On the other hand the fact that Dr. Gerritsen discovered that 'when X took over he used Y's cases' at once suggests that he took over in Y's absence; and further, Mr. Bowers's own suggestion in another place that X was given the one printed copy for sheets B–D whereas Y began at sheet E with the more difficult copy might indicate that Y was the more experienced compositor. I only mention this point as an illustration of possible dangers in building up arguments based on what must be partly conjectural accounts of what actually took place in the printing-house.

But Mr. Bowers and his collaborators have done a great deal in the last few years to increase our knowledge of the practice of seventeenth-century compositors, and to show that a study of running titles, typography, and spelling variants may provide us with a reliable history of the whole process of printing a play. There is no one who realizes so clearly what an immense amount of labour is needed for the minute investigation of the work of individual compositors and scribes; and there is no one so well fitted to organize such a campaign and to ensure its being pressed on until we are in possession of all the information that it is possible to obtain.

HERBERT DAVIS

SHORT NOTICES

Six Medieval Men and Women. By H. S. BENNETT. Pp. x+177. Cambridge: University Press, 1955. 15*s.* net.

The men and women of Mr. Bennett's title are a mixed bag of fifteenth-century people. They are Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 'Good Duke Humphrey', brother of Henry V, and a prominent disturbing figure in English affairs for thirty years; Sir John Fastolf, a successful English captain in the wars in France; Thomas Hoccleve, royal clerk and poet; Margaret Paston, the energetic wife of John Paston of the Paston Letters; the extraordinary Margery Kempe, wife of a Lynn merchant, whose mania or inspiration led her on pilgrimage and into adventures in England and as far afield as Palestine; and Richard Bradwater, a troublesome peasant on a Surrey manor. Each of these people, save Bradwater who is hardly more than a type, is already well known, and Mr. Bennett does not attempt new definitive biographies but rather biographical sketches, adding asides from other sources where personal materials are scarce. He is avowedly writing for 'that large body of readers with historical curiosity' and not for the specialist, and his book provides lively, non-technical reading on a variety of subjects. It is pleasingly produced, but its price is high for a small book written for the non-specialist and without illustrations. There are a number of errors and inexactitudes, particularly noticeable being those on the technicalities of government. On p. 76, for example, Chancery and Exchequer, not the Exchequer and the

Great Wardrobe, were the first two offices of state, and parliament was summoned by writs under the great not the privy seal. An interesting small point is the date of Thomas Hoccleve's death. Mr. Bennett suggests that this took place about 1437 in peaceful rural retirement in Hampshire where he had been given a corrody. (Mr. Bennett misdates his letter in the *T.L.S.* on this subject—it was in the issue of 25 December 1953.) More probably, however, Hoccleve died in the spring of 1426 and in London. He was given this corrody in Southwick Priory near Southampton in 1424, though probably as a source of income rather than as a place of retirement, but in 1426 it was regranted to Alice Penforde. This in itself proves nothing, but the warrant ordering the issue of the formal letter of grant under the great seal and dated 8 May 1426 states that she was to hold the corrody 'en manere et fourme come Thomas Ocle ja trespasse' (*P.R.O.*, Chancery, Warrants for the Great Seal, file 685, no. 1574). The spelling 'Ocle' is unusual, but the reference seems undoubtedly to be to Hoccleve. The last known reference to him alive is on 4 March 1426 and there is little doubt that he died some time in March or April 1426. A. L. BROWN

Walter Pater. The Scholar-Artist. By LORD DAVID CECIL. Pp. 30 (The Rede Lecture, 1955). Cambridge: University Press, 1955. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

The theme of Lord David Cecil's Rede lecture is precisely indicated by its sub-title. It is a lively, urbane, and penetrating study of the hybrid nature of the genius of a writer in whom the qualities of the artist and the scholar were combined in a very unusual way. The lecturer begins by showing a symbolic picture of his subject: 'a stocky, rocky, unromantic-looking little man with a bristling moustache and dressed carefully in the sober dark broadcloth which the Victorian age thought the correct wear for members of respectable professions'. Round the neck of this sober Victorian gentleman, however, is 'a tie of brilliant apple green silk'. 'Broadcloth and green tie, moustache and preciosity' we are told 'were deeply characteristic' of this singular Victorian don. Pater is not merely a scholar-artist, but, unlike Lewis Carroll and A. E. Housman, he is one of those rare scholar-artists in whose works scholarship and art are 'twined together'. It is to this dual strain that Lord David ascribes the success of such books as *The Renaissance*, which he describes as 'the outstanding example in English of a book about works of art which is also itself a work of art'. He rightly stresses the catholicity of Pater's interests and his powers of appreciation. Pater's criticism is often regarded merely as an aesthete's savouring of works of art. The Rede lecturer does well to call attention to its intellectual quality, its power of 'analysing each flavour into its component ingredients' and especially of conveying to the reader complex impressions such as the combination in Wordsworth of 'a strange, new, passionate pastoral world' with 'the majestic forms of philosophic imagination'. It is when Pater ceases to be a scholarly critic and 'sets up for a creator in his own right' that 'the two strains combine less easily'. Pater loved 'the voluptuous, the refined, the exotic' but was himself 'a languid, decorous, low-spirited don, celibate and shrinking alike from intimacy and adventure', and, according to Lord David, he once admitted that he 'hated a foreigner'. There is certainly something rather comic in the spectacle of a man who 'hated a foreigner' rhapsodizing over Leonardo da Vinci and Botticelli, people whom he would almost certainly have avoided if they had appeared in Victorian Oxford. Pater undoubtedly lacked a sense of comedy, and his descriptions of the conversations between Emerald Uthwart (what a name for an English schoolboy!) and his form-master are incredibly stiff and priggish. He had no gift for drama and Lord David wittily remarks that in his pages 'Botticelli, Leonardo, Michelangelo, present themselves before us, unexpectedly and improbably, as shrinking, shy, highly cultured souls, oscillating languidly between faith and belief and with marked Oxford accents'. Yet, while pointing to these weaknesses, the lecturer brings out admirably both by description and apt quotation the enduring qualities of Pater's style.

The lecture suffers a little, perhaps, from a determination to be consistently bright, witty, and picturesque in Lytton Strachey's manner, but it is an excellent and stimulating introduction to Pater's works and, it is to be hoped, will send many twentieth-century readers to the pages of this great and, at present, unduly neglected Victorian. V. DE S. PINTO

Hawthorne's *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by EDWARD H. DAVIDSON. Pp. x+305. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1955. $5; 40s. net.

Mr. Davidson here adds to his account, in *Hawthorne's Last Phase* (New Haven, 1949), of three abortive romances—*Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*, *Septimius Felton*, and *The Dolliver Romance*—which Hawthorne left unfinished at his death, enjoining his heirs to burn them along with his other manuscript pieces. Mr. Davidson now reprints the two lengthy drafts which constitute *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret* in its original form—these contain Hawthorne's interpolated commentary which reveals the extreme difficulty the author experienced in unfolding his story—and adds for good measure the six preliminary studies and sketches. In doing so, he raises again the question of our right to print an author's fumbling first drafts, especially when he wanted them destroyed. However, the original 'violation' was carried out by Hawthorne's son, Julian, who published, in December 1882, a version of *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*, patched together from the two extensive drafts with many alterations and omissions—the most serious being the exclusion of the author's meditative interpolations. (Mr. Davidson gives a full account of this edition in the Appendix to *Hawthorne's Last Phase*.) The present editor's task, then, was to rectify these errors and misrepresentations, and this he has performed with great devotion, meticulously recording from manuscript all phases of Hawthorne's painful attempt to make a coherent novel out of the discordant elements he had assembled.

The novel—a long-deferred 'English romance', based on material gathered during Hawthorne's stay in England when he was consul at Liverpool (1853–7)—is a strange farrago displaying the author's weakest characteristics, among them his perpetual struggle to invest strange or fantastic objects with what he hoped would be important symbolic meaning (he never finds any real function in this story for his 'bloody footstep', his giant spider, or his coffin full of golden hair). The book died on his hands partly because he could not reconcile its conflicting elements—it is a mixture of romantic allegorical fantasy, nostalgia for 'our old home', and satire on English manners and what Henry James would have called the 'international situation'—and partly because his creative energy, never very robust, was now failing altogether, as is distressingly obvious from his repeated self-exhortations and revisions, so pathetically fruitless in comparison with, say, James's 'copious preliminaries'. But the editor's task was worth while, since the book's very weaknesses, together with the comments Hawthorne made while actually evolving the romance, are illuminating, whether for the student of Hawthorne or for those interested in the creative process in the evolutionary stages of a novel. MIRIAM ALLOTT

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